

**LÁSZLÓ RAJK
AND HIS ACCOMPLICES
BEFORE THE PEOPLE'S
COURT**

BUDAPEST, 1949

THE INDICTMENT

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TO THE PEOPLE'S COURT,

BUDAPEST

In the case of László Rajk and others for attempts to overthrow the democratic order of Hungary and other crimes the relevant documents are herewith presented to the Court together with the following

INDICTMENT

I accuse :

I. László Rajk

born on March 8, 1909, in Székelyudvarhely, married to Julia Földi, a schoolmaster, a University graduate and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, of Budapest, of

a) war crimes and crimes directed against the people, in infringement of section 4 of Article 13 of Order 81/1945 M. E. given legal force by Act VII. 1945 and of section 5 of Article 10 of Order 1440/1945 M. E.;

b) the crime of sedition once and continuously committed as defined in section 2 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930; and within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61 of the same Act; and

c) the crime of having once and continuously been the leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order, as defined in section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946.

II. György Pálffy

born on September 16, 1909, in Temesvár, married to Katalin Sármány, a graduate of the Ludovica military academy, a former Lieutenant General, of Budapest, of

a) the crime of having once and continuously been the leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order, as defined in section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946; and

b) the crime of sedition once and continuously committed as defined in section 2 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930; and within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61 of the same Act.

III. Lazar Brankov

born on July 17, 1912, in Stari Bečej, single, a law graduate, formerly a counsellor at the Yugoslav Legation, of Budapest, of

a) the crime of having once and continuously been the leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order, as defined in section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946;

b) the crime of espionage once and continuously committed as defined in section 3 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930; and within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61; and

c) the crime of murder in contravention of Article 278 of the Criminal Code, committed as an accessory to incitement to murder as defined by section 1 of Article 69 of the Criminal Code;

IV. Dr. Tibor Szőnyi

born on December 31, 1903, in Budapest, married to Anna Bernstein, a qualified medical practitioner, a former member of the National Assembly, of Budapest, of

a) the crime of sedition, once and continuously committed, as defined in section 2 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930; and within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61; and

b) the crime once and continuously committed of having been a leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order as defined in section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946;

V. András Szalai

born on February 6, 1917, in Pécs, married to Zora Glied, a graduate of the technical university, an official, of Budapest, of

a) a war crime defined in section 5 of Article 11 of Order 81/1945 M. E., given legal force by Act VII. 1945;

b) the crime of sedition, once and continuously committed, as defined in section 3 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930; and within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61; and

c) the crime once and continuously committed, of having been a leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order as defined in section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946;

VI. Milan Ognjenovich

born on June 9, 1916, in Sároka, married to Veronika Kovács, of secondary school education, an official, of Budapest, of

the crime, once and continuously committed, of sedition as defined in section 3 Article 60 of Act III. 1930; and within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61;

VII. Béla Korondy

born on August 16, 1914, in Erzsébetváros, married to Edit Poltáry, a graduate of the Ludovica military academy, a former colonel of police, of Budapest, of

the crime, committed once and continuously, of having been a leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order, as defined in section 1 Article 1 of Act VII. 1946;

VIII. Pál Justus

born on April 7, 1905, in Pécs, married to Edit Wagner, a University graduate, a former member of the National Assembly, former vice-chairman of the Hungarian Radio, of Budapest, of

a) a crime against the people, continuously committed, as defined in section 5 of Article 10 of Order 1440/1945 M. E., given legal force by Act VII. 1945;

b) the crime, committed once and continuously, of sedition as defined by section 2 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930; and within the meaning of Article 3 of Article 61; and

c) the crime, committed once and continuously, of having been a leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order, as defined in paragraph 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946,

because

László Rajk and his accomplices initiated and led an organisation the object of which was the overthrow by violence of the democratic state order established by Act I. 1946.

I.

a) László Rajk was arrested by the police in 1931, in Budapest, in connection with communist leaflets. Having promised in writing to become an informer, he was released on the intervention of his brother-in-law, Lajos Bokor, a captain of police. From this time onwards he was a police informer and *agent provocateur* operating in the University. In 1932 he caused the arrest of Gyula Schöpflin, Károly Olt and others; in 1933 of Ágnes Birki, Jenő Széll and their group. In 1934 the police sent him among the building workers. At this time the communist organisation among the building workers was strong. In 1935, as a result of provocation by Rajk, 200 arrests were made in connection with a strike of building workers.

After this Rajk disappeared for a time; the police sent him to Czechoslovakia in order to spy upon the foreign connections of the Hungarian Communists. After the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Rajk was commissioned by the Hungarian secret police to go to Spain and report on which Hungarian Communists were taking part in the war of liberation; at the same time he was to do his best to carry on disruptive activities in the Hungarian Rákosi Battalion. This provocative and Trotskyist activity on the part of Rajk made him suspect in Spain. There was an investigation, he was barred from holding any office, and later expelled from the Party. Before the defeat of the Spanish war of liberation he escaped to France, where, in the internment camps of St. Cyprien, Gurs and Vernet, he made the acquaintance of the Yugoslav agents of foreign espionage services. These, such as Bebler, Kosta-Nadj, Gosnjak, Maslarich, Mrazovich, etc. had either been in Spain, like Rajk, or carried on their provocative activities later in the internment camps.

The French and American espionage services and the Gestapo all established themselves in these camps. One day Rajk was visited by Noel H. Field, one of the chiefs in Switzerland of the American espionage organisation known as the "Office of Strategic Services" (OSS) who told him that on the special instructions of his superiors he wanted to help Rajk to get back home. A German delegation also came to Vernet; its chief, a Gestapo major, summoned Rajk to him and told him that he would be sent to Hungary for "work."

After his return home, Rajk immediately reported to his old chief, Péter Hain, of the political police, later to be Szálasi's police chief. Rajk said of this:

"I told him everything I had learned in Spain and France. Hain told me that the Gestapo officer had helped me at his, Hain's, request."

On the instructions of Hain, Rajk, whose machinations abroad were not known in Hungary, introduced the agent provocateur Imre Gayer into the underground communist movement. As a result of Gayer's informing, Zoltán Schönherz, Secretary of the Communist Party, was arrested and executed and Ferenc Rózsa murdered. In order that Rajk might not be unmasked, he, too, was arrested, but was sentenced to only six months' imprisonment. In December, 1944, arrow-cross military detectives arrested Rajk together with several others. In March, 1945, he faced a military court in Sopronkőhida. The prosecutor at the trial, Dr. Ferenc Jánosi has deposed, in connection with this:

"At the trial László Rajk said in his defence that he had long been connected with the police and had done them important services more than once."

The trial, which was held *in camera*, was attended by Rajk's brother, Endre Rajk, Under-Secretary of State in the arrow-cross government, who intervened on his brother's behalf. Rajk was acquitted and his case transferred to a civil court which later, in Bavaria, released Rajk; his four fellow-accused were, however, put to death.

Hence László Rajk was an informer and agent provocateur in the service of Horthy's police and the Gestapo and thereby committed a war crime and a crime against the people.

b) At the end of May, 1945, László Rajk returned to Hungary. He succeeded in concealing his past and playing the part of a much-persecuted communist, steeled in the Spanish struggle. He rose to be the secretary of the Greater Budapest district of the Hungarian Communist Party, a member of the National Assembly, Minister of Home Affairs and finally Minister of Foreign Affairs. Naturally he continued his old activities. About this he admitted in his statement:

"I regularly and constantly informed the American intelligence agents of every question that cropped up in the Ministry of Home Affairs and later in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs."

American intelligence in Hungary gave increasing prominence to the Yugoslav spies of the foreign espionage services, the envoys

of Tito. Foully abusing the fraternal sympathy of Hungarian democracy with the working people of Yugoslavia, Tito's diplomatic representatives and other official envoys built up their net of espionage with the greatest effrontery from the moment they first set foot on Hungarian soil at the beginning of 1945. First of all they recruited László Rajk for their service, as they were acquainted with his past as police informer and spy. Rajk readily gave every kind of information to Colonel Cicmil, head of the Yugoslav Military Mission, to Mrazovich the Yugoslav Minister to Hungary, to Brankov, chargé d'affaires at the Yugoslav Legation, and to a long series of Yugoslav spies who approached him. He handed over to Yugoslav spies confidential information about Hungarian conditions, about the Soviet Army, about the Soviet diplomatic corps, etc. which came to him in his quality of cabinet minister. For instance, he handed the documents on the investigation of the Ferenc Nagy conspiracy case over to the Yugoslav spies while the case was still under investigation. The latter immediately forwarded these documents to the American Legation. Rajk instructed his under-secretary of state Dr. Endre Szebenyi to provide all the confidential data demanded by the Yugoslav spies. On the instructions of the Yugoslav espionage service he employed the spy Sándor Cseresnyés in his own ministry as head of the press department of the Ministry of Home Affairs, although he was well aware that Cseresnyés had been a British intelligence agent. Cseresnyés made contacts easier between him and the spies at the Yugoslav Legation.

László Rajk, as cabinet minister and member of the National Assembly, that is, as a public servant, grossly abusing his official position, gave secrets to foreign powers which seriously endangered the interests of the Hungarian state; by so doing he committed the crimes of espionage and sedition.

c) The coming into prominence of the Yugoslav spies was connected with the fact that American spies, *agents provocateurs*, and Trotskyists like Rajk himself had come into power in liberated Yugoslavia. The Gestapo had sent, from French internment camps alone, 150 of these people to Yugoslavia for espionage work at the same time as Rajk himself had been sent home. These spies formed the bulk of the circle around Tito and they systematically forced back the honest elements among the Yugoslav partisans, those who were true to their people. Encouraged by this success, the American imperialists set themselves no smaller target than, with the assistance of Tito and company, to attempt to bring the countries of the people's democracies over to their side. Rajk said of this:

"Rankovics, Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs, told me squarely that the people's democracies must unite under the leadership of Yugoslavia and Tito."

In pursuit of this aim the Yugoslav, American and other intelligence services gave every support in their power to Rajk. In November, 1946, they gave him Dr. Tibor Szőnyi for a subordinate. On the instructions of Allan Dulles, head of the OSS American espionage organisation in Switzerland, Szőnyi had organised a spy ring from among Hungarian Trotskyist emigrés in Switzerland. In the winter of 1944-45 this spy ring was sent by Dulles, with the assistance of Tito's agents in France and Switzerland, and by way of Belgrade, to Hungary in an American military plane, as a Yugoslav military mission, that is, into the rear of the Soviet Army. The Yugoslav intelligence agents then linked György Pálffy, a fascist officer of Horthy's army, to Rajk. This was in the summer of 1946. Pálffy, who on his own admission had been an organised Yugoslav spy since the summer of 1945, played the part of a communist officer and gradually rose to the rank of Lieutenant General, commander of the frontier guard, and finally Deputy Minister of Defence. With the assistance of these accomplices Rajk established a fairly widespread organisation. Wherever possible he appointed the agents of the imperialists, especially former Trotskyists, *agents provocateurs* and spies to high positions. It was thus that important offices in the police and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs fell to Béla Szász, an agent of British intelligence, sent home from South America, and Frigyes Major, an agent of the American "CIC" espionage organisation, László Marschall, a spy of the French Deuxième Bureau, who was put in charge of the political education of the police force, and the Trotskyists Gyula Oszkó and László Mátyás promoted to be colonels of police. Dr. János Beck, Károly Ráth, Ferenc Kovács, József Kálcsics and other old friends from espionage days were established by Rajk in the political police. Béla Korondy, former captain of the gendarmerie, as colonel in the police force was commissioned to form a special mobile home battalion out of former gendarmes and Horthyist officers.

At the same time Pálffy packed the army with fascist, Horthyist officers, while Szőnyi attempted to place his agents in the civil service, in economic posts and in the Communist Party. The adherents of the people's democracy, especially workers and peasants, were systematically squeezed out of the police, the army and the civil service by Rajk and his spy ring; at the same time, the spies and *agents provocateurs* were released from internment camps.

The ring was also very active in the political field. Rajk's wife was the general secretary of the Democratic Union of Hungarian Women. By means of the National Association of People's Colleges, which Rajk lavishly subsidised out of the funds of the Ministry of Home Affairs, they extended their influence to a section of the youth and students. Rajk, as an "honorary building worker" attempted to extend his influence to the trade union movement as well, through the Building Workers' Trade Union. Rajk became the Chairman of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society, etc.

In addition to the Rajk organisation, the Yugoslavs built up their own separate spy rings. Abusing the confidence accorded them by the Hungarian people's democracy, they infiltrated not only into state organisations, but into political parties, economic institutions and social organisations as well. Their network of organisation seemed so comprehensive that, relying on Rajk and his gang, in the autumn of 1947 they set out to overthrow the Hungarian people's democracy. Lazar Brankov, former chargé d'affaires of the Yugoslav Legation, has said of this:

"Our spy ring gradually embraced all branches of the state machinery, the Army and the Police. Starting in 1945, this same network of spies infiltrated into the leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party as well as the leadership of numerous social and political organisations. With the aid of the intelligence service in the state machinery and in the Army, the Yugoslav Government carried on widespread espionage against the Hungarian Government on Hungarian territory. This was what made it possible for the Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich, according to Tito's plans, to take definite measures through the spy ring for the overthrow of the Hungarian Government and for changing the state order in Hungary."

It was to advance the preparations for the execution of this plan that Tito visited Hungary in December 1947. This visit—which in many ways resembled the triumphant entry of a conqueror into Budapest—was made according to the carefully prepared plans of the Yugoslav leaders and had the purpose of increasing the prestige of Tito and Yugoslavia in Hungary, just as Rajk and his circle and their Yugoslav accomplices regularly attempted to popularise Tito artificially and reduce the great popularity of the Soviet Union. Returning from his Budapest visit, Tito spent a day in Kelebia, near the Yugoslav frontier, under the pretext of hunting. The Minister of Home Affairs, Rajk, who had previously repeatedly

conferred with Tito and the Yugoslav leaders, travelled with him in his train. At the Kelebia station, in Tito's train, Rankovich, Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs, summoned Rajk to him and, with Brankov acting as interpreter, told him in detail what to do.

"The plan," said Rankovich, according to Rajk's statement, "consists in gradually and inconspicuously rallying the people's democratic countries around Yugoslavia, with Belgrade as the centre, carefully eluding the vigilance of the governments of the neighbouring countries."

The so-called Balkan Trade Union Council, the Balkan Sport Association, the Balkan Young Workers' Association and the Balkan Women's Union, etc., all of which had their centres in Belgrade, all served to implement this plan. Concerning Hungarian domestic policy Rankovich instructed Rajk to

.... "turn towards the nationalist and chauvinist elements in the Army, in the Police Force, and in the Civil Service; towards the petty bourgeoisie in the cities and especially in the villages."

Rankovich transmitted Tito's directions, according to which Rajk was to liquidate the present leaders of the Hungarian state and of the Communist Party and then to take the leadership of Hungary into his own hands. Rajk undertook this task and increased his activities.

Since March, 1948, however, there was an increasing number of signs indicating that the Yugoslav-American plans were beginning to be exposed. As a member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party Rajk came to know that the Information Bureau was about to unmask the treachery of Tito and his followers. Rajk regularly informed Tito of these preparations. The publication of the resolution of the Information Bureau actually did expose and foil Tito's plan. Tito and his circle now informed Rajk that new tactics would have to be worked out to deal with the altered situation, and that Rajk must therefore arrange a secret meeting with Rankovich, the Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs. This secret meeting took place at the beginning of October, 1948, in the deer park of Antal Klein, a Horthyist landowner, near the town of Paks. With the aid of Pálffy, commander of the Hungarian frontier guard, Rankovich crossed the border illegally, together with his two escorts, and met Rajk, who was conducted to the scene of the meeting by Mrazovich, Yugoslav Minister in Budapest, and his mistress, Györgyi Tarisznyás, a teacher in Paks. The conference, which was held in a keeper's hut, lasted two and a half hours.

Rankovich informed Rajk of the new plan, emphasising that it was the result of Tito's own work and that besides him only Djilas and Kardelj knew of it. He said that after the resolution of the Information Bureau new ways must be found for the achievement of the old aims.

He spoke of Tito's "brilliant" scheme for turning the Yugoslav people gradually against the Soviet Union and leading them into the camp of the Western imperialists. He also explained how Tito intended to increase the reactionary forces in the people's democracies, ensure their organisational co-operation and put them on the side of the imperialists against the Soviet Union.

"Tito", said Rankovich, "indicated three tasks for the achievement of this end in the new situation. First, the mobilisation of the peoples of Yugoslavia against the Soviet Union. Second, the increase of the anti-Soviet forces in the people's democracies and their closer organisation. Third, the utilisation in international issues of the differences between the Soviet Union and the Anglo-American countries. In the latter case, we must gain support from the Western Powers against the Soviet Union... Tito has found a brilliant solution to this problem; he has worked out a plan according to which the friendly feeling of the Yugoslav people towards the Soviet Union can gradually be liquidated."

Giving the substance of this plan Rajk stated:

"The basic principles of this brilliant plan, as Rankovich informed me, were the following: first, they would only criticise the resolution of the Information Bureau; later they would describe the resolution as slander, but in this period they would on no account criticise the Soviet Union and her leaders.

"On the contrary, at this stage, they would stress friendship towards the Soviet Union... After that, continued Rankovich, we shall begin to say, gradually, but more and more emphatically, that the Soviet Union is responsible for our failure to carry out the Yugoslav Five Year Plan and with it the plans for Socialist construction; and in particular we shall make them responsible for our failure to bring about the promised rise in the living standards of the masses... This propaganda would doubtless be very effective, said Rankovich. It will transform our people's friendship towards the Soviet Union into hatred... According to Tito's estimate, Rankovich said, this propaganda will smooth the path towards explaining to our masses why Tito is turning towards the Western Powers instead of the Soviet Union."

About Hungary Rajk said in his statement:

"Very soon after this Tito was to begin an intensive campaign against the leaders of the Hungarian government and state. They were to accuse Rákosi of revisionism and say that under his leadership the Hungarian government attempted to annex territories peopled by Hungarians. Having thus created differences between the Hungarian and Yugoslav people they were at the appropriate moment to raise the issue in the Yugoslav Parliament. This action was to be followed by frontier incidents for which Yugoslavia would make Hungary responsible."

According to the plan proposed by Rankovich, these frontier incidents would serve the purpose of giving a formal pretext to Yugoslavia for violent military intervention against Hungary, for the armed occupation of part of Hungarian territory. This intervention was to take place at a time when the Soviet Union would be occupied by being involved in some sort of international complication. Part of the armed military action would be for sections of the Yugoslav Army to be sent across the frontier wearing Hungarian uniforms. The plan also provided for the invasion of Hungary by gendarmes, arrow-cross men and Horthyists in Hungarian uniform—all collected in the British and American occupation zones and passing through Yugoslav territory.

The plan involved the "physical liquidation" of some of the ministers of the Hungarian government, first of all, of Mátyás Rákosi, Mihály Farkas and Ernő Gerő.

Rankovich reassured the anxious Rajk, saying that they had great experience in this field:

"Among Tito's enemies quite a few could talk of the methods with which Tito and he (Rankovich) rid themselves of their enemies."

Rankovich proposed to Rajk that the murder of the leading members of the Hungarian government should be undertaken by Pálffy and his men in the Army.

"Think about various ways for this liquidation" Rankovich said, "in one case we might bring about an accident, in another suicide, the third might die of a sudden illness or could be killed in his flat and later an adequate explanation might be given, for instance, that he was shot while attempting to escape."

In conclusion, Rankovich gave Rajk Tito's instructions and his conditions:

"The Yugoslav aid puts such natural obligations upon Hungary towards Yugoslavia as are incontestable. Questions of Hungarian foreign and domestic policy, which will be directed by me and Anton Rob, as well as army matters, must all be made to conform to the interests of Yugoslavia. Secondly, Hungarian industry must make sacrifices for the fulfilment of the Yugoslav economic plans."

Rankovich also gave instructions regarding the new government. The Prime Minister of the new government was to be László Rajk; its Minister of Home Affairs, Anton Rob (one of the heads of the Yugoslav intelligence service, the UDB, in Hungary); Minister of Defence, György Pálffy, a Yugoslav spy. Rankovich added:

"Tito would not object if in this future government the leaders of the Social Democratic Party who had fled to the West and several persons from the circle of Ferenc Nagy, were included."

The political directives also prescribed that Rajk should seek the support of the followers of Horthy and Szálasi, the Catholic reactionaries, and the kulaks. In connection with the latter he should emphasise the Yugoslav example, where "Tito does not fight against the kulaks." Finally Rankovich said that for the armed overthrow of the government he would make the services of his own military expert available to Rajk.

László Rajk undertook to carry out these directives of Tito. After his arrival in Budapest he commissioned György Pálffy to make the necessary armed preparations within the Army for the overthrow of the Republic. Pálffy, who had already been informed through his own channels of the plan transmitted by Rankovich, reported to Rajk that he had already commenced preparations, and informed him of the details of the plan for an armed putsch.

László Rajk similarly directed Tibor Szőnyi also to make his preparations, to arrange for a party conference whose task would have been to put the Hungarian Working People's Party under Rajk's leadership. For his own part, Rankovich sent to Hungary as Yugoslav diplomats two of his henchmen, Jovanovich and Jojkich, two individuals well versed in political murder. He gave them the task of preparing the murder of Deputy Prime Minister Mátyás Rákosi.

All these plans were foiled by the measures taken against reactionary elements and spies, as a result of which a significant proportion of Rajk's followers were removed from the Army, the Police, and the Civil Service. In the middle of May the arrest of the conspirators began.

From the facts listed above it is evident that László Rajk initiated an organisation aiming at the overthrow by force of the democratic state order, as created by Act I. 1946, and of the government of the Republic, and that he committed a crime by acting as the leader of this organisation.

II.

a) György Pálffy was born in 1909. He was the son of a well-to-do bourgeois family. As a professional officer who had graduated from the Ludovica Academy, he had, before the second World War, served for one year in the Italian Fascist Army, from where he came back as a convinced fascist. As an officer of Horthy's army he took part in the occupation of the Carpatho-Ukraine and in connection with this received written praise from the then Ministry of Defence. He had to leave the army because of his wife's extraction and this gave him the opportunity, at the beginning of 1945, to enter the new Army as an "anti-German" officer. By the summer of 1945 he was already active as a spy of the Yugoslav Intelligence Service. Also in 1945 he had already established contact with László Rajk. At a series of conversations with Rajk he became acquainted with, and accepted, the aims of his organisation against the state and the people. Pálffy's task was the military leadership of the organisation. In understanding with Rajk, he defended and gave prominence in the army to reactionary Horthy fascist officers and put into important commanding positions those of whom he knew for certain that they would blindly obey his base aims and instructions. In 1947, at Rajk's instructions, he increased his activities and in order to get practice in mobilisation questions connected with an armed conspiracy, he arranged alerts, military concentrations, etc.

Pálffy through Col. Lozich, the Yugoslav military attaché in Budapest, established contact with Col. Nedelkovich of Yugoslavia. The meeting took place in December, 1947, at the Partisan Congress in Rome where Nedelkovich gave Pálffy Tito's direct instructions. He assured Pálffy that Tito's aims would be realised, because these aims were supported by the United States of America.

In October, 1948, after Rajk had secretly met Rankovich, the Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs, at Paks, Pálffy speeded up the armed preparations for overthrowing the Republic. He prepared and wrote down a plan which he aimed to carry out with ten battallions. Pálffy assigned these battallions the task of occupying the more important public buildings, the General Post Office, the Radio, the Party centre and the industrial centres in the country. He also

worked out a plan for the assassination of members of the Government, of Mátyás Rákosi, Mihály Farkas and Ernő Gerő. He entrusted this task to Béla Korondy, a colonel of police who was formerly a captain of gendarmes and at whose disposal he would have put, apart from the special battalion already organised by Korondy, a detachment of Horthy officers as well. He marked out this plan on a map of Greater Budapest and kept it in the safe in his office until he was informed of the arrest of his accomplices. Then with the help of his secretary, Edit Rosenfeld, he burnt the plans.

György Pálffy therefore committed a crime by leading an organisation for the violent overthrow of the democratic state order and Republic set up by Act I. 1946.

b) György Pálffy was from 1945 onwards an agent of the Yugoslav spy service. One after another he handed over the confidential documents and data of the Army to Lazar Brankov, counsellor of the Yugoslav Legation and leader of the Yugoslav spy service in Hungary. He ordered the members of the military political department to deliver the data asked for by Brankov. György Pálffy pursued this spying for Col. Lozich, the Yugoslav military attaché, and after the latter's removal put it at the service of Col. Žokalj, the military attaché of the Yugoslav Legation.

György Pálffy, as a lieutenant general and the inspector of the Army, i. e. as a public servant, abusing his official position of trust, delivered secrets concerning the international, military, and economic position of the Hungarian state to the authorities of a foreign state. Thus, seriously offending against the interests of the country, he committed the crime of espionage and sedition.

III.

a) Lazar Brankov was the chief representative of the Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs in Hungary. First he was the head of the Yugoslav Military Mission, then first counsellor to the Legation, and later he became the chargé d'affaires at the Yugoslav Legation. Before he was sent to Hungary, at the beginning of 1945, Col. Obrad Cicmil, the head of the Yugoslav Military Mission, referring to Tito's express directions, according to Brankov's statement, defined the task of the members of the Mission as follows:

"Tito, Kardelj and Rankovich count on it that members of the Mission will use their stay in Hungary for collecting espionage material about the political and economic measures of the Hungarian Government and that they will obtain infor-

mation on the Soviet troops in Hungary. He made us understand that we must establish close relations with the Anglo-American representatives and that we must avoid falling under the influence of the Soviet leadership of the Allied Control Commission, and especially of Marshal Voroshilov."

Brankov accordingly kept up connections for several years with Rajk, Pálffy and other elements conspiring against the Hungarian democratic state. It was he who linked György Pálffy to Rajk. It was he who coordinated the organisations of László Rajk, György Pálffy and others. He directed the work of the Yugoslav spy Anton Rob whom, at his demand, they elected secretary of the Democratic Federation of the South-Slavs of Hungary and who also became a member of the National Assembly. Brankov was the interpreter at the conversations between Rajk and Rankovich at Kelebia in December, 1947. It was his task as the trusted agent of Tito and Rankovich to urge and control the execution of the plans for the overthrow of the Hungarian Republic. When, after the communiqué of the Information Bureau, this role became more difficult, then on Rankovich's direct instructions he turned against Tito and made a public declaration to this effect. In secret, however, he continued his work for overthrowing the republic.

Lazar Brankov, therefore, by leading an organisation for the violent overthrow of the democratic state order, set up by Act I. 1946, and the Government of the democratic Republic, committed a crime.

b) Lazar Brankov was the chief of the Yugoslav official espionage organisation in Hungary. For more than four years, he continuously obtained secret data from László Rajk, Pálffy and a number of other Hungarian spies organised as his agents. He got instructions for this activity directly from Tito. He was Tito's most determined agent.

Lazar Brankov throughout his stay in Hungary was constantly engaged in spying and thus committed the crime of espionage.

c) In summer, 1948, Lazar Brankov ordered a member of the Yugoslav espionage organisation, the press attaché to the Yugoslav Legation, Živko Boarov, to come to him and told him that Miloš Moich, one of the leaders of the Yugoslavs in Hungary, had come out in support of the resolution of the Information Bureau and that it was therefore to be feared that he would uncover the activities of the Titoites in Hungary. Brankov instructed Boarov to persuade Miloš Moich to desist from this course and if Miloš Moich was to persist in his point of view, Boarov was to kill

him. After giving this instruction, Brankov handed the revolver of the Yugoslav Minister Mrazovich to Boarov who on the night of July 10, 1948, with several revolver shots killed Miloš Moich in his flat.

Lazar Brankov therefore persuaded Živko Boarov to commit the premeditated murder of Miloš Moich, i. e. he committed the crime of incitement to murder.

IV.

a) Dr. Tibor Szőnyi was born in 1903. From 1930 to 1945, when he came to Hungary as an American spy, he lived exclusively abroad. In 1938 he appeared in Switzerland where he organised a group of Trotskyists among the Hungarian emigrés there. Soon he established contact with Noel H. Field, one of the leaders of the American espionage service, and later with his chief, Allan Dulles, who was the European head of the United States espionage service called the "Office of Strategic Services" (OSS). Field specialised in recruiting spies from among so-called "left-wing" elements and the various emigré espionage groups of different nationalities in Switzerland were subordinate to him.

On the instructions of Dulles, Tibor Szőnyi established contact with Miša Lompar, the present first counsellor to the Yugoslav Legation in Bucharest, who during the war was the common spy of Tito and of the United States in Switzerland and who, like Szőnyi, spied for Dulles in return for financial rewards. Szőnyi states that in December, 1944, Miša Lompar gave false credentials to him and members of his group on which Szőnyi and members of his group appeared as officers travelling to Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav and American intelligence services helped Tibor Szőnyi and his espionage group to get from Switzerland to Marseilles where Latinovich, then the Yugoslav Consul in Marseilles (at present Yugoslav Minister to Switzerland), arranged with the leader of the American espionage service there to put an American military aeroplane at the disposal of the espionage group. Since the war was then still on, American general headquarters gave permission for the use of the special military aeroplane.

Szőnyi states that in Belgrade they reported at the Ministry of Home Affairs where they showed the credentials which they had got from the spies Lompar and Latinovich to the Yugoslav Major Kovachevich. The major found accommodation for them with the Yugoslav political police, the OZNA, instructed them for a number of days, and then sent them with a suitable

escort through Novisad and Subotica to Szeged in the guise of a Yugoslav officers' mission. At Szeged, on the instructions of Major Kalafatich, the officer of the OZNA there, Szőnyi and his companions destroyed the Yugoslav credentials.

Szőnyi and his band of spies in time got into important positions. Szőnyi himself became head of the Cadres Department of the Communist Party, which made it possible for him to put the American spies who arrived with him or those whom Rajk sent to him, into suitable jobs. Szőnyi and the spies placed by him gave some of the secret data on home policy and economics which they had obtained, directly to their chiefs in Budapest, and some they sent through messengers to Switzerland, to the United States espionage service there.

In February, 1947, Szőnyi received special instructions to put the American spies Béla Szász, György Ádám and Iván Máté into important positions in the public administration. In the autumn of 1946, on the instructions of Allan Dulles, Szőnyi subordinated his work to Rajk and put his espionage group at his disposal. Tibor Szőnyi, who was also a deputy to the National Assembly and therefore a public servant, abusing his official position of trust, delivered secrets on the international and economic position of the Hungarian state to the authorities of a foreign state, causing serious damage to the interests of the state and, thereby committing the crimes of espionage and sedition.

b) Tibor Szőnyi, after his return in January, 1945, put members of his group into all sorts of positions in the state and civil service and into important economic jobs. Thus, among others, he placed Ferenc Vági in the Press Department of the Prime Minister's Office, Iván Földi in the Hungarian-Soviet Oil Company and later in the Ministry of Industry, Péter Balaban in the editorial office of the Radio, György Hódos in the Planning Office, Dr. András Kálmán in the Ministry of People's Welfare, Dr. Gyula Kutty in the Medical Trade Union. Up to February, 1947, Szőnyi convened his espionage group for regular conversations about every two months. After this, however, for reasons of secrecy, he only spoke with them individually. At the conference he instructed members of his espionage organisation to introduce new members into the organisation, those who were enemies of the people's democracy. Szőnyi constantly informed Rajk of the places where the spies organised by him worked, and put his organisation at Rajk's disposal. Rajk, on the other hand, regularly informed Szőnyi of his own aims and of the instructions which he got from Tito and Rankovich. In spring, 1949, Tibor Szőnyi, on

several occasions, discussed with László Rajk the overthrow of the Republic and the seizure of power by force.

Tibor Szőnyi therefore committed the crime of leading an organisation for the overthrow of the state order, set up in Act I., 1946, and of the Government of the democratic Hungarian Republic.

V.

a) András Szalai was born in 1917. He became a police spy in 1935. From this time onwards he worked alternately in Yugoslavia and Hungary as agent provocateur. As a police spy, in 1942 he betrayed to the gendarme detective Antal Juhász the members of the leadership of the Communist Young Workers' League, Endre Ságvári, László Orbán and Éva Lakos. To avoid exposing him, he was given a short sentence which he served in 1944 in the Sátoraljaújhely prison, where he continued his spying activities. At that time, the Hungarian and Yugoslav prisoners at Sátoraljaújhely were preparing a prison break. András Szalai reported all the details he knew about the plan of escape to Lindenberg, the commander of the prison. As a result of this betrayal, the commander of the prison knew the plan for the break-out, and took counter-measures. As a result of the break-out, 64 prisoners were killed or later executed and András Szalai was released as a reward for his treachery.

András Szalai, therefore, by being an accomplice to the murder or illegal execution of 64 political prisoners, committed a war crime.

b) András Szalai for a long time worked for the Yugoslav espionage organisation in Hungary. According to Brankov's statement:

"Szalai was bound for life and death to Rankovich and the UDB which held him through knowledge of his treachery at the Sátoraljaújhely prison."

András Szalai first spied at the behest of the Yugoslav major Smiljanich, who worked in Hungary as the head of the Yugoslav Reparations Office. Later they attached him to Brankov, the counsellor of the Legation, and then to a Yugoslav spy named Šebianich. In the course of his espionage, on Brankov's instructions he obtained among other things the map of preparations for the defence of the frontier with complementary notes. He delivered secret data about the confidential resolutions of the Council of Ministers and other matters. Szalai was connected also with the Yugoslav spy Anton Rob to whom he betrayed the preparations for the nationalisation of the factories before the publication of the law.

András Szalai, therefore, spied out secrets of a military nature and those touching on important international and economic interests of the Hungarian state and, by transmitting these to unauthorised foreign persons, seriously endangered the interests of the state, thus committing the crime of espionage and sedition.

c) András Szalai, as an agent of the Yugoslav espionage organisation, put individuals nominated by the espionage service into important positions in the state machine. In compliance with the orders of the Yugoslav espionage organisation, he suitably coordinated and directed the work of the persons so placed. It was in this way that András Szalai put József Rex into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and, on Brankov's instructions, saw to it that Rex could remain in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, even when they very much suspected him of spying for the Yugoslavs. In the same way, he put József Hegedüs, a former captain of police and a Yugoslav spy, into the Reparations Office. Szalai saw to it that Anton Rob, the agent of the Yugoslav spy service in Hungary, was nominated a deputy. In September, 1948, following an earlier order by Anton Rob, he sent Milenko Kovačevich, a Yugoslav spy, to the party school. These spies he constantly kept under his leadership.

András Szalai was therefore one of the leaders of the organisation for the overthrow of the democratic state order, set up by Act I. 1946.

VI.

Milán Ognjenovich was born in 1916. As a Hungarian citizen, he was an organised spy of the head of the Yugoslav espionage organisation, Anton Rob. On the instructions of Anton Rob, he established contact with József Blažich, the secretary of the Yugoslav Legation in Budapest, another agent of the Yugoslav espionage service. At Blažich's behest Milan Ognjenovich signed an undertaking that he would work as a Yugoslav agent. On the instruction of Blažich, he organised Matia Kovačevich, Miloš Rockov, Jovan Gromčich and Milan Suput as Yugoslav information agents. Through them he obtained secret data on home affairs and other matters. These data he summarised in a monthly report which he put at the disposal of the Yugoslav espionage service. In return the espionage service gave him regular financial rewards.

The Hungarian citizen Milan Ognjenovich, in these activities, committed the crime of espionage and sedition.

VII.

Béla Korondy was born in 1914. Under Horthy fascism he served as a captain of the gendarmerie. György Pálffy arranged for his clearance and smuggled him into the democratic army in the rank of a major. Later Pálffy, in order to strengthen László Rajk's espionage organisation, transferred Korondy to the Ministry of Home Affairs where Rajk had him appointed colonel of police. Rajk gave Korondy the task of organising from among ex-gendarmes, Horthyist officers, permanent N.C.O.'s and other fascist scum a battalion on which he could rely, which would in every case be available against the Republic. After László Rajk had told him that it was a question of an armed conspiracy against the Government, Korondy was given instructions by György Pálffy for carrying out the plan for the conspiracy. In July, 1948, according to Korondy's statement, Pálffy told him the following:

"You know the instructions which I have received from Rajk. He declared that I must organise the occupation of important objectives in Budapest. He declared furthermore that I must count on a special company organised by him which would consist of reliable Horthyist officers. Pálffy told me that I must observe the places where certain designated members of the Government, Mátyás Rákosi, Mihály Farkas and Ernő Gerő, were, and must carry out their arrest at the same time. He declared that in the case of any resistance I must immediately use arms."

At the end of the conversation Pálffy also told Korondy that the possible removal of the Government would undoubtedly succeed, because he would receive the armed support of the Yugoslav armies.

Béla Korondy therefore committed the crime of leading an organisation for the overthrow by violence of the democratic state order, set up by Act I. 1946, and of the Government of the democratic Republic.

VIII.

a) Pál Justus was born in 1905. From 1932 onwards he was an informer of the Hungarian political police. In the fascist police he continuously gave data to Péter Hain and others under the code name of "J 17" about communist organisation and in this way worked as a spy the official fascist organ, thus committing a crime against the people.

b) Knowing Justus's role as a police informer, Col. Obrad Cicmil, the chief of the Yugoslav Military Mission in Budapest, and Major Javorsky, a member of the Mission, placed Justus in the service of the Yugoslav espionage. As a deputy to the National Assembly, a member of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party, and vice-chairman of the Hungarian Radio, Justus gathered information and sent it on to the Yugoslav espionage organisation. Pál Justus, who is an old Trotskyist and maintained personal relations with several international Trotskyist spies, gave special confidential information to the Yugoslav espionage organisation on conditions in the Social Democratic Party, the Hungarian Communist Party, and later the Hungarian Working People's Party. He gave these data to the agent of the Yugoslav espionage service, sometimes in writing, and sometimes by word of mouth.

The Titoites considered Justus's espionage services so important that they forbade the spies at the Yugoslav Legation in Budapest to keep up contact with him. Instead a special emissary of Rankovich sent for this purpose took over the material from him at all times.

Apart from the Yugoslav spy service, Pál Justus also spied for the press attaché of the French Legation in Budapest, François Gachot. He handed over to him a considerable part of the espionage material gathered for the Yugoslavs. He especially told him in detail of the confidential data obtained at the sessions of the Central Committee, first of the Social Democratic Party, later of the Hungarian Working People's Party, and confidential data about the organisational, administrative and technical affairs of the Hungarian Radio.

Pál Justus, as a deputy to the National Assembly, and vice-chairman of the Radio, i. e. as a civil servant, spied out secret data on the important interests of the Hungarian state, on its international and economic position, in order to communicate them to the authorities of foreign states, thus seriously offending against the interests of the state and committing the crime of espionage and sedition.

c) Pál Justus organised persons who stood close to him into a Trotskyist study group, where he indoctrinated them against democracy and kept them constantly under his direction. His group was connected directly with Rankovich, the Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs.

Pál Justus therefore committed a crime, by leading an organisation for the overthrow by force of the democratic state order, set up by Act I. 1946.

According to Article 20 of Order 81/1945 M. E. given legal force by Act VII. 1945 and according to Article 15 of Order 1440/1945. M. E. and Article 11 of Act VII. 1946, the trial on the indictment falls within the competence of the Budapest People's Court.

I move that the preliminary custody that has been ordered be maintained. I attach to the indictment the list of those to be summoned.

CONCLUSIONS

László Rajk and his companions set up an organisation which had for its aim the overthrow of Hungarian democracy which is secured by constitutional law, the destruction of the independence of Hungary, and Hungary's enslavement to a foreign power. Rajk and his band set themselves the aim of tearing Hungary out of the camp of the defenders of peace, which is the only guarantee of the freedom and happiness of our people, of chaining our country to the imperialist war front and thus lowering it to be a satellite and toy of the imperialists. They hoped to realise this aim with the armed help of the present leaders of the Yugoslav state, Tito, Rankovich, Kardelj, and Djilas. Rajk and his band wanted to annihilate all the great achievements of the Hungarian people's democracy, to give the land distributed to the peasants back to the great landowners, the mines and factories to the big capitalists, again to shackle the hands of the working people and again to put the enemies of the Hungarian people who had fled to the west into power. The conspirators wanted to lower Hungary to be a Yugoslav colony, a colony of Tito, who together with his band deserted from the camp of Socialism and of the democracies, who deserted into the camp of foreign capital and reaction, and thus made Yugoslavia a satellite of the imperialists. Behind the plan of Rajk and his companions, too, there stood American imperialism which, in the German and Austrian zones of occupation, has already assembled its bloodhounds, those arrow-cross, fascist, Horthyist ex-officers and ex-gendarmes who are calculating that, as in 1944, they can again wade knee-deep in the blood of the Hungarian working people, and again — this time in the interests not of German fascism but of American imperialism — can sell Hungary and thus ruin and annihilate all the results of our Liberation and reconstruction.

László Rajk and his companions, in order to attain these criminal and base aims, did not stop at any banditry. The indictment is proved by the confession of the accused and by the documents

and notes attached to the file and to be produced at the trial. The indictment is in every way proved by the testimony of those witnesses whose hearing I proposed in the indictment. As regards the accused, there is no reason preventing their punishment and the beginning of the proceedings against them, nor why they should not be accountable for their deeds. For these reasons, the indictment against them is based on law.

Budapest, September 6 1949.

Dr. Gyula Alapi

President of the Prosecutor's Office

THE TRIAL

Examination of László Rajk.

On the morning of Friday, September 16, 1949, in the big assembly hall of the headquarters of the Metal and Engineering Workers' Trade Union, the Special Council of the Budapest People's Court began the hearing of the case of László Rajk and his accomplices.

A few minutes after 9 o'clock, the accused were led in escorted by the warders. After that the members of the Special Council of the People's Court, led by the President, Dr. Péter Jankó, entered the hall.

The President, Dr. Péter Jankó, opens the hearing.

The President : The Special Council of the Budapest People's Court will hear the case of László Rajk and his companions accused of the crimes of setting up an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order, and of sedition. I open the trial.

Dr. Jankó then states that the accused and the counsel for defence chosen by them are present. Then the personal particulars of the accused are registered. The President calls on the accused László Rajk.

The President : When were you born?

Rajk : On May 8, 1909, in Székelyudvarhely.

The President then calls on György Pálffy.

The President : Were you always called by this name?

Pálffy : No. Formerly my name was György Österreicher.

The President : When did you change your name?

Pálffy : In 1934.

The President : When were you born?

Pálffy : On September 16, 1909.

After Pálffy, Lazar Brankov steps before the President.

The President : When were you born?

Brankov : On July 17, 1912.

The President : Where?

Brankov : In Stari Bečej, in Yugoslavia.

The President : What is your citizenship?

Brankov : Yugoslav.

The President : What is your occupation?

Brankov : A diplomat with the rank of counsellor.

Dr. Tibor Szőnyi is the next accused.

The President : Were you always called by this name?

Szőnyi : No, my name was Hoffman.

The President : When did you change your name?

Szőnyi : After the liberation, in 1945.

The President : When and where were you born?

Szőnyi : In Budapest, on December 31, 1903.

The President : What is your occupation?

Szőnyi : Physician.

After the registration of Dr. Szőnyi's particulars, András Szalai steps forward.

The President : Were you always called by this name?

Szalai : No, I was called Ervin Ländler.

The President : When were you born?

Szalai : On February 6, 1917.

The President : Where?

Szalai : In Pécs.

Milan Ognjenovich follows.

The President : When were you born?

Ognjenovich : On July 9, 1916.

The President : Where?

Ognjenovich : In Sároka.

The President : Are you a Hungarian citizen?

Ognjenovich : Yes.

The President : Were you a soldier?

Ognjenovich : Yes, in the Yugoslav army.

The President : Béla Korondy, come forward. Were you always called by this name?

Korondy : No, I was called Béla Dergán.

The President : When did you change your name?

Korondy : In 1937.

The President : When were you born?

Korondy : On August 16, 1914.

The President : What is your occupation?

Korondy : Ex-colonel of police.

After Korondy, Pál Justus steps before the President.

The President : When were you born?

Justus : On April 7, 1905.

The President : Where?

Justus : In Pécs.

The President : Are you a Hungarian citizen?

Justus : Yes.

The President : Your occupation?

Justus : My last job was that of vice-president of the Central News Agency.

The President : I shall have read out those parts of the indictment submitted by the Budapest State Prosecutor's Office under No 1949 85/166/2, on September 7, 1949, defined in sections 1 and 2 of Article 255 of the Criminal Procedure. I request the Secretary of the Special Council to perform the reading.

After the reading, of the indictment, the President calls on László Rajk and gives orders to lead away the rest of the accused. After this is done, Dr. Péter Jankó begins the hearing of accused Rajk.

The President : Did you understand the charge?

Rajk : Yes.

The President : Do you plead guilty?

Rajk : Yes, I do.

The President : On all counts?

Rajk : On all counts.

The President : Turn then in detail to the course of events. To begin with, how did you get into the service of the Horthy police in 1931?

Rajk : In 1930, I returned from France where, as candidate for my teacher's diploma in French, I had spent a year studying. In France I became acquainted with progressive ideas and began to learn about Marxism. On my return, I tried to get in touch in Hungary with people of Marxist ideas without, however, being a member of the Communist Party or any other Communist Party organisation. In 1931, I was taken into custody in connection with some others who were members of some communist organisation. After I was taken into custody, my relative, police captain Dr. Lajos Bokor, immediately called on Hetényi, who was then chief of the Budapest police. On Bokor's intervention, Hetényi summoned me to him in Bokor's presence and told me that he would have me set free provided I made a declaration to the effect that I would act as a spy within the Communist Party movement, or in the movements organised by it, and report my results to the Hungarian police. On Hetényi's demand I agreed to sign a declaration to this effect. Hetényi drafted the declaration saying that I agreed to act as a spy for the police in the movements organised by the Communist Party

and to report the data coming to my knowledge. I signed this declaration. This is how I was made to work for the Horthy police.

The President : What were the results of this? How did you work in respect to the obligations you undertook?

Rajk : The result was that immediately after I had signed, I stayed with Hetényi who told me in private that my task as a university student would be to try to infiltrate into the revolutionary, communist university movements and to act as spy there. I accepted. It was as a result of my "information" that in 1932, the police took Stolte and several others into custody, altogether seventeen people including myself. Obviously I was taken in order to avert the suspicion that I was working for the police.

The President : You mentioned the name Stolte. Who was this man Stolte?

Rajk : Stolte was also a candidate for the teacher's diploma in Hungarian and French. He was the one who, at the end of 1931 or the beginning of 1932 — I cannot recall the exact date — connected me with the communist movement of the university students. By the way, as I found out later, Stolte was also working for the police. Later, in 1933-1934, the Communist Party exposed him as a police provocateur and expelled him from the Party, that is from the Communist Young Workers' League.

The President : When did you find out that Stolte was a police provocateur?

Rajk : I had no knowledge of Stolte's being a police provocateur. At the time of the arrest, I deduced from various facts that he was working for the police.

The President : So you deduced that then. And when did you find out for certain?

Rajk : I found it out for certain only when the Party expelled him. I got three months. After my release Hetényi commissioned me again with continuing spying work among university students. The result of the "information" I gave was that in the first months of 1933, if I remember correctly in February, Ágnes Birki and Jenő Széll were arrested with several companions and I too was taken into custody, obviously to avoid my being suspected. I was in detention during the preliminary investigation but at the trial I was acquitted. This was the first stage of my activities along this line.

The President : Up to this time, on how many occasions did you make reports to Hetényi?

Rajk : That I could not say. Essentially, I "informed" him continually about these student movements at the University.

The President : So you did this continually. So two such arrests were caused by your reports. This does not mean that you made only two reports.

Rajk : No, it does not.

The President : These two visible results were the effect of your continual reports.

Rajk : I continually gave reports not only on the persons but also on the work done by these persons.

The President : Subsequently what services did you render Hetényi?

Rajk : As I remember, I did not render Hetényi any. As I remember, after this Hetényi brought me into touch with Sombor-Schweinitzer. Sombor-Schweinitzer entrusted me with . . .

The President : Did you already get into touch with him at that time?

Rajk : Already at that time. In order to try to establish connections with the Communist Young Workers' League to do spying work there.

The President : Now wait a minute! Why was it that now the police wanted to transfer you to another kind of work? Was it not because they saw that you had already completed your work here, that with this, at least for the time being, this section of the movement was annihilated?

Rajk : No, it was not because of that. There was an objective reason for that — the circumstance that, after my arrests and the verdict, I was expelled from the University.

The President : There was no possibility of your working in this field?

Rajk : There was no possibility.

The President : All right. Let us go on.

Rajk : I succeeded in finding connections with the Communist Young Workers' League and I was appointed to its central propaganda organisation. Here I worked together with several communists of long standing. At this time I, as a leading member of the propaganda department, had the task on the one hand of spying upon the central printing press of the Young Workers' League and on the other hand of hindering the preparation, and in particular the dissemination of propaganda material. I was not able to clear up the matter of the

printing press. As I wrote the propaganda material and its dissemination depended upon me, I was, of course, able to hinder this.

The President : Describe briefly how and in what way you hindered it?

Rajk : I hindered it partly by not forwarding the material for duplication, thus causing it to lie around for weeks so that it lost its timeliness and there was no longer any point in bringing it out. This was the main possibility for hindering.

The President : So let us say that you sabotaged the propaganda activity within your competence.

Rajk : Yes.

The resident : Go on!

Rajk : Essentially I carried on no other activity within the Communist Young Workers' League, for my work there lasted for only a very short time. The case was that in the meantime I had a chance of joining the MÉMOSz, the National Union of Hungarian Building Workers, as a member. My joining the MÉMOSz was not on my own initiative. At this time — this was towards the end of 1934 — a sharp turn towards fascism began in Hungary with Gömbös. In 1935, Gömbös put on the agenda the liquidation of the trade unions and the establishment in Hungary, too, of corporate labour organisations on the pattern of Mussolini's fascist labour organisations. The industrial workers of Budapest, including the building workers, put up heavy resistance to this policy, in defence of their trade union rights and of the working class. Towards the end of 1934 or the beginning of 1935, one could already feel that the building workers would start a big general strike not only for the improvement of their economic conditions but for the defence of their above-mentioned political rights. This is why Sombor-Schweinitzer gave me the task of joining the MÉMOSz and spying there so as to prevent activities and strikes of this kind. I succeeded in joining, and as a Party member I was able to establish contact with the leaders of the movement there, who were then underground. I reported on the organisation and on the people. Still, the strike broke out not only in Budapest but on a national scale. This strike took on a general character. I succeeded in disorganising and breaking up this strike on the instructions of Sombor-Schweinitzer by recommending to the building workers at an open mass meeting — although at that time the holding of mass meetings was strictly prohibited — that they should organise a big street demonstration. The building workers accepted my suggestion. In the Újlipótváros, where the biggest building sites then were, a huge demonstration took place.

This demonstration enabled the police to intervene. Approximately 200 people were taken into custody. The interference of the police meant at the same time the disruption and disorganisation of the strike so that it soon ended.

The President : So you planned this meeting with deliberate premeditation?

Rajk : With deliberate premeditation.

The President : With the purpose of giving the police an adequate reason for intervention?

Rajk : Yes.

The President : Continue.

Rajk : After the end of the building workers' strike Sombor told me he thought it would be good for me to disappear for a while from Hungary. He ordered me to go to Czechoslovakia. In 1936, with the aid of Captain of Police Lajos Bokor, I did go to Czechoslovakia. I crossed the Hungarian-Czechoslovak border illegally. Lajos Bokor gave me a detective of the political section as an escort to prevent my being stopped or accidentally arrested by the Hungarian authorities on the Hungarian border. This is how I succeeded, with the help of Lajos Bokor, in getting to Czechoslovakia.

The President : What task did you get from the police for this journey?

Rajk : The police presumed that the illegal material sent to Hungary from abroad for the Communist Party was brought in from Czechoslovakia through Salgótarján, that is, through the Salgótarján line. The police entrusted me with trying to discover this. I, of course, undertook to do so. I could not have done anything else. This investigation was fruitless, but I did not even try very hard to make it fruitful. I did this not because of my convictions, but because that was how my circumstances developed.

The President : Why did you say that you could have hardly done otherwise ; after all, conditions at that time were different in Czechoslovakia from those at home, so there you could have exposed the situation at home. If you would very much have wanted to, then having got out of the territory where the Horthy regime had power, to Czechoslovak territory, you could simply have . . .

Rajk : No, looking back, I still do not see the position like that, considering that I did not want to expose myself as a Communist Party member and the Hungarian police could have exposed me before the Hungarian communists at any time even during my stay abroad.

The President: So you did this to continue pretending before the Communist Party?

Rajk: Yes, that is why I did it.

The President: Please continue.

Rajk: During my stay in Czechoslovakia, in 1937, in Pozsony I received, again from Sombor, a message that I was to go to Spain with the double aim: to find out in the Rákosi Battalion the revolutionary republic's...

The President: How did you get to Spain?

Rajk: I got to Spain by travelling from Czechoslovakia to Paris with false documents. In Paris I avoided the central organ of the French Party which supervised politically those leaving for Spain. I joined a group and I crossed the Spanish border with this group.

The President: Whose idea was this? What were the orders about this?

Rajk: I mentioned that I had received instructions from Budapest from Sombor-Schweinitzer to go to Spain.

The President: So the instructions that you should go to Spain came from Budapest from the police. Continue.

Rajk: I went to Spain with the double assignment, on the one hand to find out the names of those in the Rákosi Battalion — this was the name of the Hungarian unit — and on the other hand through political disruption to bring about a reduction of the military efficiency of the Rákosi Battalion. The first assignment was not difficult to carry out, for we all knew each other. I fulfilled the second by artificially putting the political disciplinary case of one of the officers of the battalion, László Haas, on the agenda in 1938, before the Ebro battle, acting as the party secretary of the Rákosi Battalion, with the purpose of giving rise to political conflicts in the battalion. I should add that besides this activity I also carried on Trotskyist propaganda in the Rákosi Battalion. This resulted in the exposure of my Trotskyist attitude by the communist members of the battalion when the party leadership discussed the Haas case. So, in effect, the whole thing backfired: I was expelled from the Party.

The President: When did this happen?

Rajk: In June, 1938, before the battle of the Ebro... At any rate the result of all this political activity and of the discussion of the László Haas case was that the efficiency of the Rákosi Battalion — the battalion fought in a very important section of the front —

was very much weakened just before one of the most decisive battles of the Spanish Republican troops.

The President: After your departure, the Rákosi Battalion carried on its own activities, did it not?

Rajk: Yes, it did. My activities in Spain closed with my deserting in February, 1939, before the fighting in Spain was finished, and I fled from Spain. This is how I got into a French internment camp. The retreating international and Spanish units later got here too, and were together with us.

The President: Were there Yugoslavs there?

Rajk: I was not in touch with the Yugoslavs in Spain, for the Yugoslav units were on quite a different section of the front.

The President: And in the French internment camp?

Rajk: In the French internment camps, in Saint Cyprien, Gurs and Vernet, I was together with the Yugoslavs. There were very strong Trotskyist political activities in the French internment camps. The chief organisers of these political activities, and at the same time their executors, were those inside the Yugoslav group. As far as I remember, there might have been about 150 who were involved in such activities inside the Yugoslav group. The decisive majority of these were intellectuals, petty bourgeois and university students. Among the more important persons were Kosta-Nadj, Milich, Vukmanovich, who I think at that time was called Tempo, Stefanovich, Queber, these were the more important persons.

These persons I have mentioned were at the same time those who not only organised and directed the work of the Yugoslav Trotskyist group, but also the work of the other Trotskyist groups in the camp, that is the Trotskyist fractions existing in the other national groups. From among the Hungarians I can mention Frigyes Major, Cseresnyés and myself.

The President: Where did you meet them?

Rajk: In the French internment camp. I was in close contact with these Yugoslavs and together with them I, too, pursued this Trotskyist political activity in the camp.

The President: You say that you pursued a Trotskyist policy. What was the standpoint of this group?

Rajk: I could outline the essence in a few words: by saying that it was a refutation and disruption of everything which is in the interests of the revolutionary working class movement, on a political basis that completely lacked all principle.

The President: Let us continue.

Rajk: As a former International Brigader, who carried on Trotskyist activities, I was on several occasions called in and asked

for information about what was happening in the camp by the officer of the Deuxième Bureau, the French intelligence service in Gurs and later in Vernet. Returning to the question previously put I have to add that for the French officer to call me in it was not necessary for him to know my past, because in general the Trotskyists always, and everywhere, internationally, worked in close contact with the police.

The President : Under the term Trotskyists we understand those, do we not, who can be included in the above definition?

Rajk : Yes. I only said the last part to give the reason why it occurred to the French officer to call me to him.

The President : Let us continue.

Rajk : I told the French officer, the head of the Deuxième Bureau, that a strong Yugoslav Trotskyist group was active in the camp, and roughly who were the leaders of the group. Then the French Deuxième Bureau officer took out a list which was full of Yugoslav names throughout ; he carefully checked the names given by me against this list. I saw that those whom I mentioned as leaders already featured on his list as the leaders of this Yugoslav Trotskyist group. The officer of the Deuxième Bureau told me that he knew about the activities of this group, and further, that they did some things with his approval and what is more, sometimes on his instructions. I, who on a number of occasions visited the leading officer of the Deuxième Bureau, once saw Kosta-Nadj, Vukomanovich, Stefanovich, Milich, and others, the leaders of the above Yugoslav Trotskyist group who were also going to the Deuxième Bureau officer or coming from there. From this it became clear to me that these Yugoslavs were, in fact, the organised men of the Deuxième Bureau, and were carrying out its instructions just as I was.

The President : Did the Deuxième Bureau officer not have any further aims with you?

Rajk : His further aim in connection with me was that I should agree to carry out the same activities within the Hungarian group as the Yugoslavs were carrying out under his leadership and direction mainly inside the Yugoslav group, and also towards the other groups. Of course, I carried this out.

The President : How many people were affected by your activities in these camps?

Rajk : The membership of the Hungarian group was not large. There were perhaps altogether 60-70 in Vernet.

The President : Did your activities extend only to these 60-70 people or beyond them?

Rajk : The direct, outward work extended only to these. But I had a greater part to play than this, because as I mentioned, I had close contact with the Yugoslav leaders and in a way, together with them, I too belonged to the leadership.

The President : How long were you in these camps? How did you get away from there?

Rajk : I was in the French camp at Vernet until 1941. For in the spring of 1941 a German commission arrived which recruited workers for various building and other works in Germany.

The President : In the spring of 1941? That was already in Vichy France.

Rajk : Yes, that was already in Pétain's France at the time of the German occupation of northern France. The head of this German recruiting commission was a major in the Gestapo or in the Abwehr. I don't know his name. After the commission had worked for a few days, this major called me to him and suggested to me that I too, should report for work in Germany, and he would help me to get home to Hungary from Germany. He told me that he was making this proposal because Péter Hain, the head of the political department of the Hungarian police, had asked him to help me to get home to Hungary as I was an organised agent, who had been working for the Hungarian police for a long time and he had found no other solution for sending me home but this one. During this conversation, the Gestapo or Abwehr major, took out a list and asked after certain Yugoslavs. The list from which he read out the names was the same list as the one the leading officer of the Deuxième Bureau had been looking at, when I was reporting to him on the activities of the Yugoslav Trotskyist group. The German major asked by name after Kosta-Nadj, Vukmanovich and others and enquired after the activities they carried out in the camp. He said that he was asking me because if Péter Hain requested him to help me get home, then he trusted my opinion and considered me a reliable person from his point of view ; on the other hand these Yugoslavs and many other Yugoslavs — roughly those who featured on that list, that is about 150 — had asked him, that is, this major, to help them to return home to Yugoslavia. I told him what I knew about the activities of the Yugoslav Trotskyist group. The Gestapo major gladly learned of their Trotskyist activities and told me that he would fulfill their request and, in fact, he would help them return home to Yugoslavia. That he really did so, I consider to be proved by two facts. One of the facts is that there were very many Yugoslavs in the group with which I went to Germany. The other fact is that from time to time biggish Yugoslav groups

set out on their way home to Yugoslavia from the neighbourhood of Leipzig, where I worked, and their setting out for home in such a legal form, as it happened, could obviously not have taken place except with the support of the German official organs, the Gestapo or other organs.

The President : By the way, I ask you whether you know what contacts the Yugoslav persons you have spoken about have had with the Yugoslav leading circles at that time serving the Hitlerites in Yugoslavia?

Rajk : I have no concrete information about that. But I consider it obvious that if they had entered into contact with the Gestapo after the *Deuxième* Bureau officer and had turned directly to the Gestapo asking it to help them get home to Yugoslavia, the Gestapo continued to keep a grip on them, considered them its own men and sent them home with special tasks.

The President : Did it occur to you then or only now?

Rajk : It occurred to me then too.

The President : So it had already occurred to you at that time, you were conscious of it.

Rajk : From Germany I returned home to Hungary in the same way, the German authorities . . .

The President (interrupting him) : Was there any parallel between you and Imre Gayer?

Rajk : Imre Gayer got home to Hungary in the same way as I did.

The President : Who was this Imre Gayer?

Rajk : Imre Gayer came to Spain from South America. I did not know his profession. As a matter of fact, he was never in the front line, he always worked somewhere in the rear. In the French internment camp he also reported for work in Germany and with me reached Germany, also with the support of this Gestapo officer, the major. Almost in the same month, in August, 1941, we came from Germany to Hungary, to Budapest.

The President : Did you know more closely Gayer's political opinions and activities?

Rajk : Imre Gayer could obviously not have had other political opinions than I. Otherwise he would not have turned towards the Gestapo. When I returned home, I put Imre Gayer in touch with the Communist Party and . . .

The President : Did you enter into connection with the police?

Rajk : Yes, I had previously entered into connection with the police.

The President : Because of your past you naturally had to report to the police.

Rajk : I reported to Péter Hain who also told me that he had requested the Gestapo to send me home. Péter Hain had orders that I should attach Imre Gayer to one of the Communist Party organisations, so that he could carry on the work of a spy there. This is what happened. I was interned by the police, obviously so that if Gayer's work were to lead to arrests, suspicion should not fall on me. I was interned in October, 1941. I learned later that Imre Gayer . . .

The President (interrupting) : So you were interned after you had introduced Imre Gayer?

Rajk : I described Imre Gayer to the Communist Party as an absolutely reliable, intelligent person, who was politically developed and could be entrusted with responsible work and that he would, at the same time, be the person who would on behalf of the Party check up on the former Hungarian fighters in Spain as they returned home.

The President : You did this despite the fact that — as you said before, — you knew that exactly the contrary was true. Continue.

Rajk : In 1942 there were large-scale arrests in Hungary in the so-called independence movement. I learned later that the large-scale arrests were in the main the result of Imre Gayer's activities.

The President : Where did you learn about this?

Rajk : From the trial material and the material of the examination because of course I did not speak with Imre Gayer.

On the basis of Imre Gayer's work as a spy they also arrested Ferenc Rózsa who, while under arrest, died from the torture, as well as Zoltán Schönherz who was later condemned to death and hanged. I was freed from internment only in October, 1944, that is, as a result of this case . . .

The President : So you received a sentence there?

Rajk : Yes.

The President : You found out through these proceedings that Ferenc Rózsa and Schönherz were arrested as a result of Imre Gayer's information?

Rajk : Yes. As it was I who introduced Imre Gayer to the Communist Party, naturally the investigation could not leave me out of it, and they had to arrest me also. But purposely considering the fact that I had after my introduction been interned, as a mitigating circumstance, I received altogether only a 6 months' prison sentence.

The President : When this expired you were interned, so that you were only freed in October, 1944?

Rajk : After October, 1944, I was arrested by the military counter-intelligence, who did not know that I was an organised agent of the Hungarian police, and as a consequence of the war situation, I was immediately sent to Sopronkőhida a few days after my arrest.

The President : Did you do nothing between 1944 and your arrest?

Rajk : I was active in the sense that I took part in the work for the Hungarian Front, again fulfilling my assignment to work as a spy there.

The President (interrupting) : After your release from internment, did you not speak with Péter Hain?

Rajk : Oh yes. It was he who gave me the assignment to try to work as a spy in the Hungarian Front. This, however, did not succeed, as the military counter-intelligence during their mopping-up of the military section of the Hungarian Front detained me before I could extend my activities on behalf Péter Hain in any way. I came before the military tribunal in Sopronkőhida.

The President : Before the court of the General Staff?

Rajk : Before the court of the General Staff. In the fear that they would, as a former fighter in Spain, a participant in the Hungarian Front — as that was in my indictment — possibly condemn me to death, I asked for a secret hearing and at this secret hearing I disclosed that since 1931 I had carried on all my activities in the service of the police. In this connection I asked that Sombor-Schweinitzer and Péter Hain should be referred to. I further made use of my brother Endre Rajk.

The President : What was he then?

Rajk : He was then a government commissioner for supplies in the Szálasi government. He even appeared in court as a witness for the defence, and these two facts can be thanked for the circumstance that the charges made against me were dropped at the trial.

The President : How did your brother give evidence at the trial?

Rajk : In the sense that he considered me politically reliable from the point of view of the regime and guaranteed me. On the basis of these two facts the charges against me were dropped, and for formal reasons my case was transferred to a civil court. This trial, however, never took place because owing to the military events the whole of Sopronkőhida was evacuated, the Szálasi government fled, and Hungary was liberated. I, like the rest of the prisoners

in Sopronkőhida, was taken to Germany. After the collapse I came home from Germany.

The President : Did you meet that certain Stolte in Germany?

Rajk : I met him and together we went to Germany. I told Stolte that I would return from there. And he informed me that he would go further and would try, if possible, to reach the American zone. I asked Stolte, in the event of his reaching the American zone and being able to get information to Sombor-Schweinitzer, to inform him that I had returned to Hungary.

The President : And did you not give Stolte an assignment concerning the American intelligence service?

Rajk : Not as far as I can remember.

The President : That he should find American contacts for you?

Rajk : As far as I can remember I gave him Sombor-Schweinitzer's name. Of course I do not consider it impossible that this too might have been raised.

The President then ordered quarter of an hour's recess. After the recess Dr. Jankó continues the examination of the accused Rajk.

The President : So you returned to Budapest after the Liberation. Briefly describe conditions at home.

Rajk : When I came home to Budapest the Hungarian Communist Party was then, of course, working legally in the liberated country. My activities were not known to the leadership of the Communist Party. They knew me as the best member of the Communist Party. That is why immediately upon my return home I was given an important position in the Party, I became the secretary of the Budapest Party organisation. Not long after I had received this assignment from the Party leadership, I was visited by a man named Kovach, who was a member of the American military mission. This was around August-September, 1945. He informed me that he had received a message from Sombor-Schweinitzer, who was in the American zone, through which he discovered that I had worked for the Horthy police. Being in possession of this information, Schweinitzer ordered me to place myself at the disposal of the American intelligence service. If I did not carry this out, they would denounce me to the Communist Party leadership. Of course I agreed to do this. Kovach asked for political information about the Hungarian internal political situation. He told me that he did not want to entrust a person like me, holding such an important office, with the job of petty intelligence work, with the duties of an ordinary agent. He wanted me, as one close to leading political circles, to supply

information to the organisations of the United States in Budapest on those political questions about which they could not otherwise acquire knowledge from any other source. I informed Kovach — I think Kovach held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, as a member of the military mission — about the internal political situation. My information on the 1945 elections was of special importance to him.

The President: That is, you had to give Kovach information on questions concerning the internal political situation, which he could not have found out elsewhere.

Rajk: Yes, that is why information about the preparations for the 1945 elections were of importance, especially the preparations of the left-wing.

I also informed Kovach that according to the information and estimation of the Communist Party, the various right-wing elements, the followers of the Horthy-Szálasi regime, the Trotskyists, the Weiszhaus group, the right-wing parties, such as the Smallholders' Party and the right wing of the Social Democratic Party, had started a strong organisation in Hungary, trying to place nationalist, chauvinist and anti-Soviet elements, hostile to the people's democracy, everywhere in the factories, institutions, offices. Lieutenant-Colonel Kovach told me that he knew of this, for it did not happen without the knowledge of the United States, but on the contrary, — with the necessary transmission apparatus — under the leadership and direction of the United States, because their chief endeavour in Hungary was to liquidate the left-wing revolutionary socialist elements and to establish a right-wing regime. Therefore my task was to inform him about everything that the Communist Party planned in order to liquidate these elements, and through my office in the Party to help these elements to carry on the political activities I have mentioned with the least possible hindrance.

The President: Don't you remember something in connection with what happened in the French camps which is directly related to the things you have just said now?

Rajk: Yes, I do. Before I got in touch with Kovach, there was already an earlier attempt by the Americans to organise me as a member of the American intelligence agency. It was in the Vernet internment camp that an American citizen called Field, who was as far as I know the head of the American intelligence agency for Central and Eastern Europe, visited me in the internment camp after the end of the Civil War. He referred to an instruction he had received from Washington, that he should speak with me and help

me to get out of the camp and return home to Hungary. He even told me that they would like to send me home because as an agent who had not been exposed I would, working in the Party according to the instructions received from the Americans, disorganise and dissolve the Party and possibly even get the Party leadership into my hands. But my contact with the Americans ended after my meeting with Field, for he arrived in the camp when I had already agreed with the Gestapo major, that I should return home through Germany, as I have already said.

The President: What did you say about the tasks proposed to you?

Rajk: I told him that I had an opportunity of reporting for work in Germany and that from there I could return home to Hungary and that I therefore did not need his intervention. Of course, I did not tell him that I would get to Germany with the help of the Gestapo major. I remember that Field even expressed his disapproval.

The President: Let us continue.

Rajk: Lieutenant-Colonel Kovach, one of the members of the United States Military Mission in Budapest at the end of 1945 or the beginning of 1946 — I don't remember clearly any more — connected me with Martin Himmler. Martin Himmler was then in Hungary transporting Hungarian war criminals from the American occupation zone to Hungary. This meeting of mine with Martin Himmler was actually only to get acquainted with him, and we did not discuss any special questions. The second and last time that I spoke with Martin Himmler, was when he visited Hungary in autumn 1946, incognito, — as he told me — that is, illegally. He told me then that he had put this journey into his programme because he had important things to discuss with me. He told me that the different right-wing forces of Hungary are concentrated mainly under the leadership of Ferenc Nagy, Béla Kovács and Béla Varga. The right-wing forces of the Smallholders' Party, the right-wing forces of the Peasant Party led by Imre Kovács, the right-wing social democratic forces led by Peyer, Szeder, Kéthly and Szélig, as well as the very active underground Horthyist and former Szálasi-fascist forces which had no organisation of their own, were very active in working to take over the power of government and to remove the left-wing revolutionary forces, that is the Communist Party and the left-wing social democrats, from governmental power. He wanted to give me the task of dissolving the forces of the greatest unit of the left-wing revolutionary forces, the Communist Party, by organising a separate fraction against Rákosi in the Party led by Rákosi in order to ensure the seizure of power by the right-wing forces.

Whether I succeeded in putting this fraction on a broad basis or not, I should make it common knowledge through propaganda that there was a Rajk fraction in opposition to the Communist Party led by Rákosi. Himmler's conception was — and probably it was not his own individual conception but a part of the general policy of the United States — that if we could at least make it a matter of general knowledge through propaganda that there was no unity within the Communist Party but that under my leadership there was a strong anti-Soviet and pro-American nationalist fraction, this would in itself cause such disorientation and confusion in the camp of the left-wing forces, as would make it more easily possible for the right-wing forces to get the upper hand.

The President : With what sort of a government?

Rajk : With a bourgeois democratic government, but, of course, with a capitalist content, with the re-establishment of capitalism.

The President : But with your personal leadership?

Rajk : No, when I talked with Himmler, we did not talk about the person of the leader. We could not have talked about it, for at that time Ferenc Nagy, Béla Kovács and other figures, too, were still active in Hungarian public life. At the same time, Martin Himmler told me that in all probability this would be my last talk with him and with the representatives of the American intelligence agencies in general, for they would hand over their whole network to the Yugoslavs, and in the future I would get instructions for further work through Yugoslav channels. He did not tell me through whom I would get the instructions from the Yugoslav side, nor did he tell me in what way the Yugoslavs would get in touch with me. With this my talk with Himmler ended. On the American side I had one other connection; this was my secret connection with American Minister Chapin, which was of an irregular nature, occurring only from time to time.

The President : Did your American connections have any influence on the placing of Čseresnyés, Marschall, Major, Szász etc.?

Rajk : Yes. I forgot to mention that Martin Himmler, when I talked with him at the end of 1946, also told me that, taking advantage of my influence as Minister of Home Affairs — for at that time I was already Minister of Home Affairs — I should endeavour to place in key positions people who were in their eyes reliable, that is, people following the policy of the Americans, or people who were attached to American intelligence agencies; to place them not only in the Ministry of Home Affairs but, taking advantage of the office I held in the Hungarian Communist Party

as well as the post I filled in the government, to place such elements in other parts of the state machine, too. Subsequently, partly on these instructions of Himmler, partly on another directive — that I think I had better discuss later — I placed in the Ministry of Home Affairs Sándor Čseresnyés, who was in the employ of the Yugoslav intelligence service; László Marschall, who was an agent of the French intelligence organisation, the Deuxième Bureau; Frigyes Major, who was the agent of the American CIC intelligence service; and Béla Szász who was in the employ of the British Intelligence Service. In addition, Lieutenant-Colonel Kovach attached to me, as early as the beginning of 1946, Tibor Szőnyi who was active in their organisation. I used Tibor Szőnyi to place right-wing, nationalist, chauvinist and anti-Soviet elements in various positions throughout the Communist Party.

The President : Now describe briefly the cadres policy which you followed for the ends mentioned, partly yourself, partly through Tibor Szőnyi.

Rajk : The essence of this cadres policy was that, wherever possible, in those spheres of public life which are decisive for the seizure of power, there should be reliable people on whom one could count for overthrowing the people's democratic regime. I must mention however that this cadres policy had only been talked about in 1946 when I talked with Martin Himmler, but had not yet been carried out. Its achievement was effected not on the basis of the agreement with Martin Himmler but according to the directives and political plans of Tito and Rankovich. This, however, was of course one and the same line in the end, for Tito and Rankovich worked in close and organic co-operation with the American information service. Regarding their close and organic co-operation I had various facts at my disposal. There were first of all my experiences in the French internment camp when I personally convinced myself that the persons who fill the key positions in the Yugoslavia of today had been active agents of the Deuxième Bureau and arrived home with the help of the Gestapo. Of course, the Deuxième Bureau had already during the war closely co-operated with the American information organisations. The active agents of the Deuxième Bureau became after the end of the war the active agents of the Americans in Central and Eastern Europe. That there was a close connection between the Yugoslav leading circles, the government circles, Tito, Rankovich and others, and the American intelligence agencies — of that I convinced myself from the fact that in 1945 the Americans sent a vast majority of their own men home to Hungary, all through Yugoslavia. And they did

this in such a way that it was also known to the Yugoslavs that these persons were American agents. So, for instance, Tibor Szőnyi and his companions, this Trotskyist group from Switzerland which consisted entirely of persons in the organisations of the Americans, came home through Yugoslavia. I should mention that of all the facts the most decisive and most obvious one which proved to me the connections of the leading Yugoslav statesmen, Prime Minister Tito and Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich, with the Americans, was my talk, my meeting, with Rankovich in the summer of 1947 when I spent my holidays in Yugoslavia, in Abbazia.

The President : Now tell us how the connections between the Yugoslav official elements and you began. Then we will get to your meeting with Rankovich.

Rajk : Quite independently of the American intelligence organisations, I had already connections in 1945 with the Yugoslav intelligence agencies, with Brankov. At that time I did not yet know that they worked in close co-operation with the Americans. I met Brankov at various celebrations of the NÉKOSz, the National Federation of People's Colleges, and I got to know him on such occasions. Later, when I became Minister of Home Affairs, starting in the spring of 1946 he, as the head of the Yugoslav Military Mission, often visited me in the Ministry of Home Affairs. Even at our NÉKOSz meetings he strongly emphasised the right political line of the NÉKOSz. He approved of the policy of the NÉKOSz because it was based on nationalist principles and he implied that it was a smaller version of what the great Yugoslav youth movement was in a more highly developed form, also on a nationalist basis. In this connection he spoke to me at that time already of Tito's policy; that since the war he had tried to operate his own policy on nationalist principles. He attempted to put this policy of Tito's to me as if it were a new tactic in the building of socialism required by the total historical situation as changed in the Second World War. When I became Minister of Home Affairs, time and again he repeated this; and I had to realise in these conversations that he directed his discussions with me in these channels in order to find out what my attitude was towards the Soviet Union, towards the leaders of the Communist Party who were following a policy friendly to the Soviet Union, that is, towards Rákosi, Geró, Farkas and others, to what extent I sympathised with Tito's nationalist policy, to what extent I had this political attitude. Brankov was able to convince himself from my reply that I not only sympathised with Tito, but that I approved of his nationalist and essentially anti-Soviet policy. This caused Brankov to be open enough to tell me straight out that he was

the head of Yugoslav intelligence in Hungary and to ask me as Minister of Home Affairs to hand over to him various data, to give reports on the Hungarian political situation, on various matters of state secrets, and so on. This was the essence of my connections with Brankov.

The President : Were your acquaintances from the internment camp mentioned?

Rajk : Yes, they were mentioned. Brankov as the head of the Military Mission...

The President : Briefly. What did he say about this?

Rajk : On several occasions he went to Belgrade for instructions and every time when he returned he brought me greetings from Rankovich, Milich, Vukomanovich and others who had been in Spain.

In connection with this he also told me that these Yugoslavs who had fought in Spain were all very prominent, leading statesmen.

The President : Did he also mention Kosta-Nadj, Stefanovich and Queber?

Rajk : Yes.

The President : You say that these people had already revealed to you in the camps in France that they were completely hostile to the labour movement and to socialism. Thus it must have been evident to you that there was no question of building up some sort of socialism in Yugoslavia in one way or another. After all, those persons who in 1939 and 1940 were, as you said, engaged in undermining socialism, were holding leading state positions.

Rajk : Permit me to reply to this by saying that at that time I could not see what kind of policy they were pursuing, I could only guess the political attitude of some of those whom I knew. But then I did not yet see whether, on account of Tito's person whom I did not know closely, they would be able to put forward their policy and put it into effect, or not.

The President : This was at any rate a striking phenomenon.

Rajk : Yes, it was.

The President : Well, let us continue.

Rajk : At all events, from our conversations Brankov was able to gather the impression, and could even become convinced that I agreed with the political points of view mentioned by him, that is, a People's Front on a nationalist basis, and a youth movement on a nationalist basis. I came to this conclusion from the fact that in the summer of 1947, when I went to Yugoslavia for my holidays, an exceedingly warm, almost demonstratively extravagant reception was extended to me. Later, when I had a talk with Rankovich in Abbazia I understood that this was not the general usage in entertaining their guests and that this extreme hospitality was included in their programme in order to draw me closer to them and

win me over to their side. My connection with the Yugoslav intelligence service in fact became a formal act here in Abbazia, and it was here that I was organised by the Yugoslavs and that I first realised that not only Rankovich, Vukmanovich, Milich and others who had been in Spain, pursued a Trotskyist policy and maintained connections with the American intelligence service, but also Tito himself, the Prime Minister of the Yugoslav government. This I can support by the following facts: while in Abbazia, a leading member of the Croatian UDB, a blonde woman of about 30 years of age, called on me at the villa. She spoke Hungarian. She told me that Rankovich would shortly come to Abbazia, that he wanted to talk with me and that no-one but the three of us should know of this conversation and meeting with Rankovich. Rankovich in fact arrived in Abbazia a few days later. In our conversation, this Croatian UDB woman acted as interpreter. Rankovich told me that he knew that I had been connected with the Hungarian police and that he had now come to Abbazia on direct orders from Tito, to warn me that in case I should not in future maintain a political attitude supporting Tito's policy in every respect in Hungary, they would expose me. I replied that it was entirely fruitless and unnecessary to threaten me in this way, since it was not true that I had been connected with the Hungarian police, and if I co-operated with them politically, I did not co-operate because they wanted to organise me but because my political concepts were akin to theirs. Upon this, Rankovich, somewhat mockingly pulled from his pocket a photostat copy which he gave me to read. In it I discovered the photostat copy of the declaration I gave to Hetényi when I was arrested, in 1931. I asked Rankovich how he came to possess the photostat copy of such a document. Perhaps the Yugoslav fascist police previously had contact with the Hungarian police and obtained data from them, as the fascist police organisations used to exchange information, or in what ways? Rankovich replied that it did not turn up from the files of the Yugoslav fascist police but was given to them by the Americans. The files of the Horthy police were evacuated to the West when in the last phase of the war, the government and various official bodies escaped to the West, and in the American zone, these files fell into the hands of the Americans. I asked Rankovich on what basis the Americans could have handed this photostat copy over to him. Rankovich replied that it would be of no use for us to buy a pig in a poke, all the more so as I must become familiar with their entire policy and connections. Therefore he could tell me that they were in contact with the Americans. He knew of the talk I had had with Himmler at the end of 1946, that is half a year earlier, and he

also knew of the tasks which Himmler had assigned to me to help rightist forces to assume power and to promote the splitting of the Communist Party. He also knew that Himmler had told me that probably in the near future my further tasks and instructions would not come from the Americans directly, but from the Yugoslavs. Well — said Rankovich — the Yugoslavs meant Tito and him, and in future I would receive instructions to carry out tasks from Tito, or rather from the mediator appointed by Tito. This above all was the obvious fact which proved to me for the first time that it was not only the Yugoslavs already organised in France who were in close contact with the Americans, but also several from among the members of Yugoslav government circles, including Prime Minister Tito and the Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich. Here I must refer to the fact that, when Rankovich produced that certain photostat copy, I told him that my formal organisation based on that photostat copy was entirely unnecessary because I agreed with them politically, anyhow. Rankovich then told me that I, as a Minister of Home Affairs, must understand that he, in his capacity of Minister of Home Affairs, would deem it necessary from a technical point of view to carry out even this small job in order to possess every guarantee that I shall respond to their directives. Nevertheless they assured me that they did not want to entrust petty jobs to me. They knew my abilities, my position in the government and the Party, and they would assign great political tasks to me. In connection with this he told me that later on we would talk of many more things. For the time being I may consider it as an instruction also on behalf of Tito that in case I had not yet completely carried them out, I was now to perform the tasks given to me at the end of 1946 by Himmler, that is by one of the leaders of the American intelligence service.

The President: Did he refer to Himmler also on that occasion?

Rajk: He mentioned again, also in this connection that they were informed in full of my conversation with Himmler. This was known by Prime Minister Tito as well as by him. It was especially emphasised that I should most actively see to it that a strong anti-Rákosi, that is, nationalist, anti-Soviet fraction be formed within the Communist Party. This time — as I was saying — I had to realise in fact that there was close contact between Prime Minister Tito, the Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich and other leading Yugoslav statesmen, and the American intelligence services. I had an idea — and later on this became stronger — that this connection must have been of an earlier date, since a recent relation cannot produce such complete co-operation. I cannot give up the idea that probably the Americans were in possession of some compromising

evidence against Tito dating from the fascist era in Yugoslavia by which they held in their power, both him and the other Yugoslav statesmen now in leading positions, who were already organised in France.

The President : And parallel with this, you had maintained your connections with the Yugoslavs active in Hungary, with Brankov, Mrazovich, Javorsky, and Čačinovich?

Rajk : As far as my connections with the Yugoslavs are concerned, namely with Brankov, then later when Mrazovich became minister, with Mrazovich, Cicmil and those mentioned, these can be divided into two phases : the first one until the time of my talk with Rankovich, that is, until summer 1947 ; the second one from the summer of 1947, when I returned from my holidays, until my talk with Rankovich in Kelebia.

The President : You have already expounded the first phase, only you have not as yet spoken in detail about the handing over of information.

Rajk : To the first phase I only wish to add that this contact was not merely a tentative relation and the beginning of an acquaintance, when they were trying to get to know me, and I was trying to get to know them. It was rather that I constantly transmitted political information and other matter to Brankov and the others. This supply of data was of course not discontinued even after my talk with Rankovich.

The President : What type of data did you supply? In fact, what did it comprise?

Rajk : It comprised, for instance, what was of the utmost interest to the Yugoslavs and the Yugoslav government — the Hungarian budget. Then the particulars concerning the conspiracy led by Ferenc Nagy, that is, by the right wing of the Independent Smallholders' Party, by Béla Kovács and others. They also received from me the operation and service regulations of the police. They asked for and received Hungary's administrative map. All these were in effect state secrets, and the Yugoslav circles received them from me as such, through Brankov.

The President : Did they also receive data on the State Defence Authority?

Rajk : Besides this data, they constantly and continuously received information on any question in whatever connection concerning the Ministry of Home Affairs or the State Defence Authority. Independently from me, they also received data from Under-Secretary of State Endre Szebenyi and from Cseresnyés, who were advised by me personally to be at the service of the Yugoslavs in every respect.

The President : To whom else did you give such instructions?

Rajk : As a matter of fact, in the Ministry of Home Affairs, to these two persons. My contact with Brankov received an entirely different, or rather a new character, after my conversation with Rankovich.

The President : Did the supply of information not extend to the military field?

Rajk : It did not extend to the military field, because — although I did not know this then and found out about it later — they had a special network on military lines leading directly to Pálffy.

The President : So, in general it can therefore be said that you supplied them with all the data concerning the whole of the political and economic life.

Rajk : Yes. After my first meeting with Rankovich my contact with Brankov took on a new character. One after another directives arrived from him. I had hardly returned when one of these directives passed on by Brankov said that I should make use of all means to place in leading positions in the police and army reliable elements, suitable to our policy, that is nationalists, chauvinists and anti-Soviet people. In connection with this he emphatically called my attention to the fact that it was not sufficient to place such elements in leading positions but that the whole of the police and the whole of the army, as armed units, should come under the influence of Tito's policy, that is, should be impregnated with the spirit of nationalism, of anti-Sovietism, and turned towards the United States. Rankovich suggested through this message that, in order to realise this, a police and army delegation should be sent to Yugoslavia where the police and army representatives would be supplied with an abundance of everything, Tito would be popularised among them and all the advantages and magnificence of Yugoslavia would be shown to them in this way, so that returning home with the best impressions, they should continue their pro-Yugoslav activities within the police and army. I recollect that the despatch of a police delegation to Yugoslavia did take place, and so that it should not attract too much attention because of its one-sidedness, the Yugoslavs also sent a Yugoslav police delegation in exchange.

Rankovich also proposed, in order to deepen the pro-Yugoslav policy within the army and the police, that I should propose to the government that certain army and police officers should be sent to attend Yugoslav army and police officers' schools, so that armed leaders, completely reliable from the point of view of the Tito regime and Tito policy, could be shaped. While the visit of the police delegation was successfully carried out, because of intervening events

— which will be related later — I was no longer able to organise the army delegation nor the sending of army and police officers to Yugoslavia.

On another occasion Rankovich also sent a message through Brankov that I should try to place everywhere nationalist, chauvinist, anti-Soviet, and pro-Anglo-American elements, not only in leading positions in the army and the police, but also in the various sections of the state apparatus, in ministries, civil service departments, factories, village and municipal institutions. He even mentioned that I could use for this purpose Tibor Szőnyi who was developing this policy within the Communist Party. This is how I also found out that Tibor Szőnyi too — who was an organised agent of the Americans and had returned home to Hungary as such via Yugoslavia — had also been handed over by the Americans to the Yugoslavs to carry out certain partial tasks. I say certain partial tasks of the Americans' because, according to my knowledge, Szőnyi was in close, direct contact with the Americans right until the end, independent of the Yugoslav line. Szőnyi did receive the instructions from me about carrying out these tasks according to Rankovich's message, just as he gave Pálffy his orders about his tasks as far as the army was concerned. As far as the police section was concerned I did not need to give instructions there, because I, as Minister of Home Affairs carried them through myself. This also was contained in Rankovich's message — and this perhaps came sooner than the message addressed to Szőnyi — that I should try to help the Barankovics Party and the Pfeiffer Party in their election propaganda for the 1947 elections. It is also necessary to know that soon after I returned from my holidays in Yugoslavia, Ferenc Nagy was exposed, the Ferenc Nagy government fell, and as a result of this the new parliamentary elections were announced in which two new parties, the Barankovics and Pfeiffer parties, took part. The message said that instead of the right-wing of the Smallholders' Party, disrupted after the conspiracy, the new grouping of the right-wing forces and their growth must be helped and that I, as Minister of Home Affairs, should not put obstacles in the way of the election propaganda of the Barankovics and Pfeiffer parties. Of course, according to the constitution of the Hungarian Republic they could freely carry out their election propaganda. But the question here was not that I should hinder the propaganda of Barankovics or Pfeiffer in an unconstitutional way, but — and this was emphasized in the message — that I should not hinder the Barankovics Party and the Pfeiffer Party in their election propaganda when the propaganda was contrary to the constitution of the Hungarian Republic.

Another message from Rankovich at that time — which is closely connected with the message about the elections — was that I was to connive at the especially strong anti-peoples democratic, anti-Soviet and pro-Anglo-Saxon policy of the right-wing Social Democrats during the elections, and as a member of the secretariat to try to get them to put up with it within the Party leadership, within the Communist Party leadership. The content of the message was that I could argue with the Party that one cannot fight on two fronts during the elections; one cannot fight against a right-wing of a fascist nature, and at the same time against the right-wing of a party which is after all a workers' party, therefore one should allow free scope to the activities of the right-wing Social Democrats on the basis of the policy of choosing the lesser evil. In connection with this Rankovich's message pointed out that to his knowledge the right-wing Social Democrats — how he knew about it I do not know — were trying to use the elections, the election campaign and later the election results, to blackmail the Communist Party and for the capture of various leading positions in the state apparatus. His message — based on the above political reasoning — said that I should argue within the party leadership in favour of allowing the right-wing Social Democrats various posts with the aim of neutralising them. If needs be I should argue that we are making this concession temporarily and will win them back later.

On this basis, said the message, excellent opportunities are opened up for the right-wing Social Democrats to win leading positions in the various fields of state activity, especially in the armed police units, the state defence organisations, the AVO, the state defence department, as well as in the economic police, the military political department and the army. Rankovich also gave reasons here why he proposed this through Brankov. He said that at all events there was a common basis with the right-wing Social Democrats, that is, that they turned towards the United States and Britain, that they were anti-Soviet and for this reason, if they were inside the army, the police, the armed units and in various sections of the state apparatus, this would fit in also with our political aims, our projects against the peoples' democracies and the Soviet Union.

There was another very important message from Rankovich at this time — the second half of 1947 — which again I could not explain, and he only enlarged upon it in Kelcbia. This message read: Should a proposal be handed to the Hungarian government from the Yugoslav government concerning the setting up of youth, women's and trade union Balkan federations, I, as a member of the government, should try to support it with all my might.

Finally one more directive arrived from Tito and Rankovich in the second half of 1947, that is, after the meeting at Kelebia. Efforts should be made to withdraw the whole of the police and the army, as the armed forces, from the influence of the Communist Party and in general from the political influence of the people's democracy and to place them more and more under right-wing political influence. One of the ways of doing this — justified in the message — was that I should suspend the political activities of all Party branches within the police and, in fact, in this way kill two birds with one stone. First: I would withdraw the police from the political influence of the people's democracy, and more than that, from the political influence and control of the Communist Party. In the second place, as Minister of Home Affairs, I could become without Party control the all-powerful master and leader of the police organisation. I could make the whole force entirely dependent on me, and, as such, it could be used in the event of an anti-government mobilisation, as an entirely trustworthy, united armed force. This should later have been carried out in the army on the police pattern. These were the messages which I received from Rankovich in the second half of 1947.

At the end of 1947 the signing of a Yugoslav-Hungarian friendship pact came on to the agenda. In connection with this Brankov sent a message that I should use this opportunity to popularise Tito, for this would mean the popularisation and strengthening of the appeal of Tito's policy. He also told me that Tito's reception in Hungary was my task in my official capacity as Minister of Home Affairs, and I should prepare a reception such as only the greatest leader deserves. To discuss details, Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich sent a delegation headed by Milich a few days before the arrival of the government delegation; as far as I know, Milich was the head of the Yugoslav UDB or at least one of its leading officials. Milich visited me with Brankov at my flat. They told me that this opportunity must be used to organise exaggerated security measures so as to emphasise the person of Tito as a leader. They proposed things like that on the route along which Tito was to go to where he was staying or along which he would go during his visit in the course of his various official activities, everybody should be displaced from the flats having windows facing the street in order that no bombs or shots should be aimed at Tito from one of these windows. On the day before, all the drains would have to be examined to see if any delayed-action mine or other sort of bomb had been hidden there and after the closing of these drains, after the examination, guards should be ostentatiously placed there in

order that everybody should see that it was done because of the personal security of Tito. Mrazovich, who was already here as minister, emphasised especially that, as for Tito's accommodation, he should get one of the most beautiful villas of Budapest. As I did not succeed in ensuring this last condition in the first few days, Mrazovich also visited me in his capacity of minister, that is, officially, and told me the following: He asked me officially to inform the Hungarian Government that he had told me, according to instructions received from the Yugoslav Government, that if we could not ensure a villa worthy of the person of Tito for his accommodation, and if we were not willing to carry out the necessary security measures, the Yugoslav Government delegation would cancel the journey to Hungary necessary for the signing of the friendship pact between the two countries. This announcement was made about 36 hours before the arrival. I tried to fulfill these demands in their entirety. It was not my fault that we did not fulfill them one hundred per cent. The Hungarian Government intervened in the affair and simply forbade me as Minister of Home Affairs to take exaggerated measures. In connection with the arrival of Tito I received a special task, to mobilise the whole of the National Federation of the People's Colleges, the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society, and the Democratic Union of the South Slavs of Hungary to arrange a veritable Tito festival in Budapest with a torchlight parade, in this way too, to emphasise the personal importance of Tito.

There was another occasion when I delivered information while I was Minister of Home Affairs, that I have not yet mentioned, for I have spoken only about 1947. In 1948, I delivered the resolution of the Information Bureau to Brankov orally because I had no written text, weeks before its publication. So with my help Tito and his group learned about the resolution of the Information Bureau much sooner than they could receive it through the organisation or after its publication. The placing of spies is also related to my espionage activities. I am now thinking of those I have already mentioned: Sándor Cseresnyés, an agent of the Yugoslav intelligence, Béla Szász, an agent of the British Intelligence Service, Frigyes Major, the agent of the American intelligence agency, the CIC, Marschall, the agent of the French intelligence agency. I am no longer able to remember the exact time when I appointed them to this or that leading job.

The President: Or when you had them appointed.

Rajk: Or when I had them appointed. It is also part of the category of my activities as Minister of Home Affairs that

I tried to place not only those persons who were organised, but also people of whom I knew that they were Trotskyists, Deményists, Weiszhausists, nationalists, chauvinists, anti-Soviet and anti-communist. And what is more, I even considered people in whom these traits were not completely evident as satisfactory, but I knew that they would remain faithful to my person whatever happened and thus, I should be able to carry out my policy through them, too. Now this category, this category of nationalists, chauvinists or those under my personal influence, includes in part people whom I tolerated around me in the Ministry, for they were useful people and I found them already there when I entered upon my office. For example, Endre Szebenyi was such a person who was at that time only a departmental chief and I promoted him later to be Under-Secretary of State. I introduced into the ministry Colonel of Police Gyula Oszkó, whom I made the leader of the police cadre department, the personnel department, precisely because I considered him politically reliable for my purposes.

In addition to these elements, there were in the Ministry of Home Affairs some definite Horthyist elements in the police like Korondy, of whom I knew that he was an officer of the gendarmerie and took him over as such from Pálffy. Such people were appointed in the army and in the different sections of the state apparatus through Szőnyi. To increase my own influence with the State Defence Department I endeavoured to place, to appoint the colonels, lieutenant-colonels and captains Kálcsics, Ráth, Kovács and Beck. It was not my fault that I did not succeed in keeping them permanently there. The chief officers of the State Defence Department exposed and removed them.

I also made it possible for various leading right-wing politicians to be able to escape from Hungary after they had been exposed. So Béla Varga, Károly Peyer, Szélig, Sulyok and Pfeiffer — all these left the country while I was Minister of Home Affairs. I had no instructions for this from Rankovich, but I myself thought that if their policy was to promote the general advance and organisation of the right-wing forces, then an important part of this was for me to promote the escape of right-wing elements, as they could be used from abroad.

Among all my activities as Minister of Home Affairs I naturally considered my participation in the conspiracy the most criminal and at the same time the most important in itself — the leadership of that plot and organisation against the government which I undertook on my own account and which was assigned to me as a task by Rankovich in Tito's name, in Kelebia.

The President (producing a document): Look at this. Is this your signature?

Rajk (steps on to the platform and looks at the document): Yes, it is mine.

The President: Yes. So you signed it. You signed the document for ending Imre Gayer's internment...

Rajk: Yes.

The President: ... as Minister of Home Affairs, on December 17, 1946, the same Imre Gayer of whom you have already spoken...

Rajk: Yes.

The President: ... whose political role, whose ideology that was sharply opposed to socialist development, whose past you knew.

Rajk: While I was Minister of Home Affairs I freed from internment not only Imre Gayer but, as I remember, others too as, for instance, József Dudás and Horváth, who were well-known Trotskyists in Hungary. I ordered them to be set free also in order to help the right-wing movement.

The President: Yes. I will show you something else. Is this also your writing? Look at it.

Rajk: (Steps on to the platform and looks at the document). It is my writing.

The President: "Endre Gischitz may be admitted to the Budapest Area Secretariat. Extended. Rajk. The Budapest Committee of the Hungarian Communist Party." Who is this Endre Gischitz?

Rajk: He was a leading member of the Demény fraction.

The President: Let us change the subject to the meeting at Kelebia.

Rajk: All right. The government delegation led by Tito arrived to sign the treaty of friendship, and after the signing of this treaty the Hungarian government held a hunting party in honour of the Yugoslav government delegation headed by Tito.

The President: Please give only the main points. A hunting party was held in Kelebia, and you met Rankovich there. Describe briefly what happened at this meeting.

Rajk: Rankovich let me know through Brankov that at the end of the hunt he wished to speak with me in one of the special saloon cars in the Yugoslav train. This talk actually took place. During this talk Brankov acted as interpreter between me and Rankovich; there was no one else in the saloon car. Summing up the political parts of what Rankovich told me there, I can tell you the following: We have to strive to overthrow the peoples' democratic regimes of the peoples' democratic countries which came into being after the Liberation, to prevent their socialist development,

partly to win over the democratic revolutionary forces, to separate them from the side of the Soviet Union and partly, where there is no other way, to annihilate them. Instead of the peoples' democratic regimes in all these countries, that is, in the peoples' democracies, bourgeois democratic regimes must be set up; that is, instead of development towards socialism, capitalism must be restored. These bourgeois democratic governments would turn towards the United States instead of towards the Soviet Union and in such a way that rallying around Yugoslavia, or rather Tito, they would form a federation under the leadership of the Yugoslav government, a federation which would rely on the United States. This federation would at the same time form a military block on the side of the United States and against the Soviet Union.

The President : What plan did Rankovich tell you for carrying this out?

Rajk : I told him that I did not quite understand how Yugoslavia, Tito's government, wanted to carry out this policy; for there were certain contradictions, at least on the surface, between the present situation in Yugoslavia and what they wished for as their final aim, the reestablishment of capitalism through the overthrow of the peoples' democratic regimes.

The President : And what did Rankovich say to that?

Rajk : In answer to this Rankovich told me the following : First of all, I should realise — he said — that neither Tito nor the rest of the members of the Yugoslav government wanted a people's democratic regime even after the Liberation, and through it the building of socialism in Yugoslavia. If they as a government were still compelled to take such revolutionary measures which in essence and *de facto* began to lead towards the liquidation of capitalism, this was not because they wanted to carry out this programme in earnest, but because they were compelled to do so under pressure from the Yugoslav working masses. Also, after the conclusion of the Second World War the general situation in Central and South-Eastern Europe was such, that Yugoslavia, or rather the Yugoslav government, Prime Minister Tito and his associates, had to take into account the Soviet Union and the new peoples' democratic countries, too. So it was on the basis of these two factors that they were compelled to take measures leading to the liquidation of capitalism. Rankovich emphasised very strongly that they were "compelled to take" them and pointed out immediately that at the same time, right from the very beginning, they took good care that true revolutionary, socialist elements should not gain power in Yugoslavia and that the state power should remain centralised in Tito's hands and

in their hands. Here he explained right away that this was why they had organised the People's Front on nationalist principles in Yugoslavia; why they did not ensure and did not allow an independent role to the Communist Party but amalgamated it into the People's Front precisely in order to prevent the existence of an independent party in Yugoslavia which would crystallise and mobilise the revolutionary forces. Rankovich said to me that after the liberation, in 1945 and 1946, the situation was such that Yugoslavia could well afford to stay in the background, pretending to a seemingly revolutionary character before the Soviet Union and the rest of the people's democracies. He, or rather Yugoslavia, did not have to undertake unpleasant tasks against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies, for in each country that had set out on the spath of the peoples' democratic development, the old reactionary political forces were relatively so large that it was possible to count upon their victory and, in case of their victory, on the establishment of bourgeois-democratic regimes in these countries. So — he said — for instance Hungary, if the conspiracy had not been exposed, would have been quite close to such a development. In this case, if the development had taken this line, said Rankovich, Yugoslavia's active foreign policy would have started only when these right-wing forces would have triumphed in the individual peoples' democratic countries, and then Yugoslavia in alliance with them could have carried out the forming of such a bloc. Then he said : The situation has, however, changed to such an extent that Yugoslavia must relinquish her background role and Yugoslavia herself must step into the foreground; Yugoslavia must be the organiser and guide of the rest of the peoples' democratic countries in the overthrow of the peoples' democratic regimes and in the establishment of a confederation of this kind, which stands on bourgeois-democratic principles and relies on the United States, as a military bloc against the Soviet Union. I wish to emphasise by the way that Rankovich on the occasion of our talk in Kelebia stressed that in what he told me he was giving me the Tito plan and that he was following Tito's instructions in telling me about this.

The President : What is that plan?

Rajk : Well, the plan was that since the right-wing forces in all the peoples' democratic countries had been defeated one by one Yugoslavia had to undertake the role of organiser and leader of the overthrow of the peoples' democratic regimes. Yugoslavia, however, — said Rankovich — could not in Tito's evaluation do this by openly coming out with the announcement of such a policy. She could not do this because both among the masses of the people

in Yugoslavia, and in the rest of the peoples' democracies, too, friendship towards the Soviet Union had strong and deep roots and the socialist camp had immense strength. Therefore, Tito had to carry out this policy under camouflage, by deception. According to Rankovich, Tito conceived this policy of deception in the following way. First of all, Yugoslavia had a great attraction for the rest of the peoples' democracies because of the war, or rather because of the heroic partisan battles of the peoples of Yugoslavia. So Tito thought that this attraction, this popularity — outwardly emphasising and stressing friendship with the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies — must be taken advantage of and emphasised in order that, rallying around Yugoslavia, various federations should be concluded between Yugoslavia and the other countries. Tito wanted to carry out this grouping around Yugoslavia in a deceitful manner, again cloaked in socialist, pro-Soviet and pro-people's democratic guise by referring to the fact that Yugoslavia had an important strategic role against the aggressive policy of the United States and the Anglo-Saxons in general, because of her geographical situation. Precisely because of this, it was in the interests of the Soviet Union and all the peoples' democracies to support Yugoslavia so that Yugoslavia should defend the interests of the rest of the people's democratic countries against the attacks of the Anglo-Saxons. This would have been the chief argument by which, taking advantage of the popularity and the attraction of Yugoslavia, they would have given economic reasons also for having to build such a federation around Yugoslavia. This, the negotiations for the establishment of a such federations would have been conducted, for the time being, with the existing governments of the peoples' democratic countries. Tito emphasised, however, that simultaneously with such agreements, or negotiations for such agreements, steps must be taken — again under the guise of friendship towards the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies — to remove the democratic forces in the peoples' democratic countries from under Soviet influence and to bring them, and organise them, under Tito's influence. The establishment of the various Balkan associations with which Tito would politically also have laid a foundation for, and promoted the establishment of, such a confederation, served the same aim. Finally, the last point of this task would have been that at the time when a policy for the overthrow of the peoples' democracies was being followed in these two spheres serious steps should simultaneously be taken within every single people's democratic country, according to Tito's instructions, for the speedy unification and preparation for action of the definitely right-wing

reactionary forces, so as to be able to remove the peoples' democratic governments in power at a given time with arms, that is by force, if necessary.

The President : For Hungary, you had this task, hadn't you?

Rajk : For Hungary I had this task.

The President : For Hungary, was there some sort of special aspect to this task? Or was this task identical in the case of every people's democracy?

Rajk : For Hungary and in the case of the other peoples' democracies too, Rankovich considered this Tito plan — as they used to call it among themselves — Tito's special plan and its realisation, a special way, a special policy. And this referred not only to Hungary but to all the other peoples' democracies as well. At the same time Rankovich remarked that Tito was, of course, a much better strategist than to wish to realise this programme on the same pattern for every country. He would pay attention to the special conditions, the existing political balance of forces, in each individual country.

The President : And as for your activities against members of the Hungarian government, did you not receive some special tasks? Were there no such members of the government whom they considered special antagonists, whose disposal would have been a primary task? Was there no mention of this?

Rajk : Yes, it was mentioned. The task relating to Hungary was to overthrow the people's democratic regime in Hungary, of course, to arrest the members of the people's democratic government and within this . . .

The President : Who were the most outstanding enemies?

Rajk : . . . and within this the most dangerous ones, as Rankovich said, must be liquidated, if there was no other way.

The President : Who were these by name?

Rajk : By name he thought first of all of Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas . . .

The President : Did he only think of them or did he definitely name them?

Rajk : He definitely mentioned them.

The President : So he mentioned these names?

Rajk : And he told me that I would be responsible for carrying out this whole programme in Hungary, and in connection with this he told me right away Tito's evaluation of the situation in Hungary and the forces on which one could rely.

The President : So he enumerated all the reactionary forces?

Rajk : In general he enumerated all the reactionary forces, decisively emphasising that first of all the key positions in the armed forces, in the army and the police, must be in hand, that reliable people must be placed there and a correct policy carried out through them.

The President : And with this, the meeting at Kelebia came to an end? Did he not mention how you would remain in contact, whether you would get further directions?

Rajk : The meeting at Kelebia ended with Rankovich on one hand promising further directions and on the other hand calling my particular attention to the fact that I should not feel myself being insulated, as in addition to them there were other forces at work, too, which had almost as much weight as what we should do. In connection with this he mentioned that the Marshall Plan introduced by the United States would have an effect which was to aggravate the economic position of the peoples' democratic countries, in order that through the raising of economic difficulties, the grouping of these states into one front on the basis of common economic interests should also be speeded up.

The President : What was the other of point view?

Rajk : We must take into account — said Rankovich — the policy of provoking a war, which is becoming more and more intensive on the part of the United States and of the Anglo-Saxons in general and which will have the effect among others on Hungary, too, and on all the rest of the peoples' democracies of raising doubts in people who are politically less mature, who would fall for a war panic and because of this panic would try to turn rather to America.

The President : Did he promise actual Yugoslav military aid?

Rajk : Yes. He emphasised that, with a correct grouping of the forces, I could count on such support, but he considered it decisively important that in political activity, in the organisation of the forces I should rely on my own internal support.

The President : Yes, you said this already.

Rajk : There are one or two more points of view which I think it is important to mention. Among other things, Rankovich emphasised very strongly that an extraordinarily strong propaganda campaign supporting the whole Marshall Plan and the warmongering policy of the United States, would be directed against the peoples' democracies, by the British Labour Party, as well as by the Blumists and Saragatists, that is, by the French and Italian right-wing socialists and the British right-wing Labour Party, mainly by taking advantage of the network of right-wing Social Democrats in each country.

The President : After the Kelebia meeting did you talk about this with any American officials?

Rajk : Yes. This happened in the spring of 1948. I talked with Mr. Chapin, the Budapest Minister of the United States. I informed him that I had had talks of this kind with Rankovich and that at these Rankovich had emphasised that when the time came for action, the United States would try to time something for them to tie down the Soviet Union and so to prevent the Soviet Union from interfering in the seizure of power in Hungary.

The President : What did Chapin say?

Rajk : Chapin hesitated a little whether to make a statement before me or not — later he did, and said that he knew of this plan and that the United States would not put any obstacles in the way of carrying out Yugoslavia's policy. This, at any rate, made it obvious for me that it was not simply out of personal vanity that Tito wanted to be the leader of several countries at the head of a confederation, but that Tito had submitted his finished plan to the Americans, that they had approved it, or perhaps they had even worked it out together, and Tito's government was simply carrying this out.

The President orders a brief interval.

After the interval the trial continues with the examination of the accused Rajk.

The President : So we are finished with the meeting at Kelebia. What did you carry out from among the instructions you were given at that time?

Rajk : After the Kelebia meeting, what I should first have done was the promotion of the establishment of the so-called Balkan associations. I had had messages about this from Rankovich even before the meeting. For the fact was that in Tito's policy for tearing away the democratic forces from the Soviet Union, a decisive place was given to the establishment of various Balkan associations with Belgrade as centre. In the middle of 1947 — as Rankovich told me — they began, as part of the five year plan, the building of youth railways with the purpose of assembling there large youth delegations from the different peoples' democratic countries and of winning them over for Tito's policy in such a way that they, returning to their countries, would prepare the realisation of the proposed Balkan youth associations with Belgrade as centre. This would have meant the removal, the tearing away, of the youth from Soviet influence.

The President : Tell us to what extent and how you carried out the instructions which you got from Rankovich in Kelebia, following the date of the Kelebia meeting.

Rajk : I was to promote all these associations in Hungary. And among these, most decisively, the trade union associations, with the pretext that they had special technical problems and we would thus have removed the working class from the influence of the Soviet Union.

The President : To what extent did you succeed in this?

Rajk : I did not succeed in doing this. I could not carry out the grouping of the reactionary forces either, because in the early spring of 1948, that is, after the Kelebia meeting, negotiations on unification were started between the two workers' parties and the unification of the two workers' parties gave rise to a process in the whole of Hungarian political life, in the course of which the forces which we had previously placed were expelled from their various posts.

It was, furthermore, not possible to carry out assignments received with regard to the various social bodies either, because during 1948, with the setting up of the new government, our men already placed in all spheres of state life, in social bodies and state offices, the army, the leadership of the social bodies and everywhere else, were removed. Neither was the reactionary catholic activity and propaganda led by Mindszenty, of which Tito had hoped much, successful, as through the nationalisation of the schools the strengthened central government of the people's democracy took one of its most important instruments out of the hands of catholic reaction, it divorced the youth from the influence of catholic reaction. A very decisive blow was struck at the whole plan by the resolution of the Information Bureau which exposed Tito's policy and with this, in fact, closed the first stage of Tito's policy during which, under the pretence of professing friendly feelings, he wanted to overthrow the people's democratic governments in the various countries.

The President : But you did carry out some positive activities in the interest of the common aims?

Rajk : I did carry out positive activities. After my talk with Rankovich, I got into touch with Pálffy who had just then returned from Rome, where he also at the same time...

The President : He will tell of this himself. So you admit that you made contact on the same line and for the same purpose with Pálffy.

Rajk : Yes. I gave instructions to Pálffy. I gave similar instructions to Szőnyi.

The President : The same. He reported to you on his talks in Rome with Nedelkovich, and you told him of your talk with Rankovich. And after that? Did you continue your activities of supplying information?

Rajk : I continued my activities, supplying information right until the end.

The President : You continued them right until the end. You have already given an account of an important event, have you not, how you gave away the resolution of the Information Bureau before it was published.

Rajk : I disclosed it beforehand. It is here that my talks with Szőnyi come in. Szőnyi received concrete instructions to step up his anti-Soviet, nationalist propaganda and the organisation of the reactionary forces; but all this was frustrated by the change in the political circumstances already mentioned. My concrete activities: I then spoke to Korondy, carrying out the instructions, that it was necessary that he should already think about setting up a special police battalion for the possible arrest of the government. Korondy was also told by me that in future he would receive instructions for further tasks from Pálffy, and since then I have not spoken to Korondy about such matters. After the resolution of the Information Bureau I was visited by Brankov, if I remember correctly, in August. He told me that Rankovich wanted definitely to meet me to discuss the new situation and discuss the tasks. I said I was ready to meet him but only if Rankovich came to Hungary and this discussion remained secret. This meeting with Rankovich was made possible by Mrazovich in the first days of October, by Mrazovich taking me in his own car to Antal Klein's hunting reserve beyond Paks to the Biritőpuszta where Rankovich was already waiting for me with two companions in a keeper's hut. I found out later that Rankovich's illegal journey to Hungary was prepared by Pálffy. As the commander of the frontier guard units, he helped him across the frontier.

The President : So you know that Pálffy carried out the necessary arrangements at the frontier for this purpose?

Rajk : Yes. As I do not know Serbian, Mrazovich, the Yugoslav minister, interpreted all my conversation with Rankovich. Rankovich began with the following: The resolution of the Information Bureau changed nothing in the final aim of which he had already informed me in Kelebia, that is, the overthrow of the peoples' democratic governments and the setting up of bourgeois democracies, the formation of a federation centred on Yugoslavia, relying on the United States, against the Soviet Union. But with the changed conditions, the methods of carrying out have also changed, said Rankovich. Conditions have forced us to take sharp and determined steps to carry out this programme, and for this, three tasks have to be fulfilled in this respect. The first task, which falls to

Yugoslavia herself, is the mobilisation of the Yugoslav peoples against the Soviet Union. The second in the peoples' democratic countries is the strengthening and organisation of the anti-Soviet forces, and the keeping of the reactionary forces in readiness. And the third task, making use of the great power antagonism between the United States and the Soviet Union, to overthrow the people's democratic government power in Hungary at a given point of time through arms and force. Rankovich put the following before me in detail in connection with the realisation of the three programmes:

A certain transition period was needed until it was possible to take an open stand against the Soviet Union, because to their own greatest surprise, among the masses of Yugoslav working people after a few years of Tito propaganda, friendship towards the Soviet Union and loyalty towards the Soviet Union was much more deeply embedded than they would have expected, so that in order to turn the masses of the Yugoslav people against the Soviet Union, a special programme had to be worked out. Rankovich called this programme Tito's ingenious plan of reorientation, by which he meant that the pro-Soviet masses of the Yugoslav working people have to be turned against the Soviet Union. This plan, according to Rankovich, was shown to the ministers Djilas and Kardelj and Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich by Tito when it was worked out, and was debated and accepted by them.

The essence of this reorientation plan was first of all to criticise the resolution of the Information Bureau in a friendly spirit, to pretend to their own masses, as though they only wanted to clear up some misunderstanding with the Soviet Union. At the same time as the friendly criticism, they would also voice their praise of the Soviet Union. Later they would change their friendly critical voice and begin to call the Information Bureau resolution a slander, but still not with a hostile voice against the Soviet Union and the governments of the peoples' democracies. At a later stage they would make the Soviet Union responsible for wanting to hinder the Yugoslav peoples in their socialist development out of malevolence, saying that she wanted to force her from the road of socialism and, with this artificially propagated alleged behaviour of the Soviet Union, they would justify the fact that Tito, who wants to build socialism, has to turn to the United States for all sorts of economic aid.

This would be followed by the last phase of the reorientation policy which would show that while the Soviet Union prevents the socialist development of Yugoslavia, the United States helps it forward and with this it would be possible to turn the Yugoslav people against the Soviet Union.

Tito, according to Rankovich, counts in this connection upon this propaganda being taken up by the Western states and being publicised by them, and the task of the Titoites in the various peoples' democracies is also to intensify this propaganda. Rankovich said that in addition to this propaganda, which was being carried on to turn the masses of the people against the Soviet Union, it has to be understood that the decisive emphasis is not only on this propaganda, but upon the co-operation of all the existing reactionary forces of all shades, that is from the nationalist elements, from the anti-Soviet elements right to the former fascist elements. Because, as he said, all means which can be used in the interests of the aim have quickly to be thrown into battle before the further strengthening of the various peoples' democracies can take place. Precisely for this reason he proposed that in addition to the propaganda carried on we should definitely turn not only towards the latent hostile elements in the army and the police, but also towards the former fascist and Horthyist elements dismissed from army service. He even mentioned that we could look for support among such elements as former army personalities, as for instance János Vörös, former Minister of Defence, and others, who were dismissed from army or police service because of their fascist past. Rankovich specially emphasised that the main attention has now to be turned towards these elements because these are potentially given, and have only to be rallied. In this connection he called my attention to the fact that we should increase our activity more than hitherto in connection with the kulaks, to win the kulaks over and to rally them.

Rankovich emphasized: it is Tito's most definite view that after the Information Bureau resolution there can no longer be a question of taking over power in a peaceful way, but the people's democratic government system has to be overthrown and state power must be captured by a violent armed coup d'état. He emphasised in this connection that I should turn my attention to the activity which the Western Powers are also carrying out in preparation for these events. At that time the list which, on the basis of the Marshall plan, prohibits the delivery to the peoples' democracies of various highly important raw materials, semi-finished or finished articles, was not yet known, but Rankovich, on the basis of Tito's message, called attention to the fact that this would happen, as the purpose is to cause great economic difficulties and with it dissatisfaction in these countries. Rankovich especially stressed that I should watch, already at that time, that is in October, 1948, when I was speaking to him, that Mindszenty was conducting a political attack against the government which was much sharper and more

openly conducted than anything before. Rankovich said that this was not happening on the basis of Mindszenty's own head and convictions. All the force of the Vatican had to be thrown into the fight for the prevention of further democratic, socialist development in the peoples' democratic countries. Rankovich also said that in connection with the nationalisation of the schools Mindszenty was successful in starting a small peasant rising in Pócspetri against the government measures; at the suggestion of various circles among the Great Powers, at the suggestion of the Vatican, Mindszenty would now follow a policy determined to do anything, so that by the end of January and February 1949, events will have reached a stage where there would be not one Pócspetri, but in all counties, towns, districts and villages, similar risings would break out against the central democratic government. Rankovich drew my attention to this because all these events would be very useful, so that these forces should be rallied through suitable preparations, and so that they could be drawn into the further struggle right to the overthrow of the central government. It was of this that Rankovich said that therefore Tito had not only an ingenious reorientation policy to achieve his final aim, but then there was also unity of policy between Tito, the United States, Britain, and the great Western powers in general, and the Vatican, to overthrow the democratic government power of the peoples' democratic countries. Apart from this, said Rankovich, he stressed in any case the basis of Tito's message, that the most important thing in the overthrow of government power was armed strength. I should here not only count on the Hungarian armed forces which exist in Hungary, I should before all else count on Tito, who, departing from the Kelebia plan, was ready to put at my disposal significant Yugoslav units immediately at the beginning of the overthrow of government power. In this connection Rankovich told me the following in Tito's name: suitable people will be chosen and various units will be formed, which they will station at the Hungarian-Yugoslav frontier. So that their use should not cause a stir in Hungary, they are trying to compose these units of Yugoslav Hungarians and they will cross the Hungarian frontier in Hungarian army uniforms. He said that of course it was unavoidable that, especially among the leaders, there should be some who could only speak Serbian, but as leaders they would pass, among the many Hungarians. Rankovich said that Tito wanted to play for safety and did not even entirely trust whatever information he would get from us as to the reliability of the Hungarian units. Precisely for this reason he would stiffen and supervise all the units which would have the duty of fulfilling important tasks

with Yugoslavs put onto Hungarian territory. He especially drew my attention to the fact that Tito was absolutely determined that at the time of the coup d'état, at the same time as the coup d'état, the Hungarian government would have to be arrested and three of its members, Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas would immediately have to be killed during the first action. In connection with this Rankovich said that, of course, a brutal appearance had to be avoided. Perhaps it could be explained that one of them was an accident, the second caused by illness, the third committed suicide or had to be killed because he was trying to escape. According to Rankovich it was these three people whom Tito considered so dangerous that he absolutely insisted on their physical liquidation and wanted this duty definitely to be fulfilled by a unit consisting mainly of Yugoslav cadres because they have excellent experience from the partisan struggles of how to get rid of people, and the adherents of the resolution of the Information Bureau who had been arrested or had tried to escape could also talk about these experiences.

The President : Did he not suggest other armed support?

Rajk : In addition to this armed force, Prime Minister Tito also took other armed forces into consideration when working out his plan, notably the former Horthyist and Szálasi military police and gendarmerie fascist units in the West, in the Anglo-American zone. In connection with this, he told me that at the time when he talked to me, measures had already been taken by them, that is by Prime Minister Tito and Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich, to get in touch with the commanders of these units. As Hungary is separated from these zones along the Austrian frontier by a border line which is a Soviet zone, these units would come back to Hungary from Austria through Yugoslavia and whatever happens, these forces would already be at my disposal at the time when the putsch was to be carried out. Now, so that the concentration of these forces along the Hungarian frontier should not attract attention, Prime Minister Tito worked out a special plan on this which was approved by the ministers Djilas and Kardelj too, notably that they would revive the charge of revisionism against Hungary.

The President : What do you think, what would these fascist and Yugoslav units have done if they had succeeded in getting to Hungarian territory? Did you think of this then?

Rajk : In any case, there would have been acts of the greatest cruelty and massacre against those democratic forces which have pushed them out of the country, gradually liquidated capitalism, distributed the land, nationalised the factories and banks, etc.

Obviously I realised that, for I am a politician and I know the ABC of politics.

The President : Let us continue.

Rajk : Tito's plan was that he would spread the charge against Hungary among the masses of the Yugoslav people that Hungary has aggressive aims against Yugoslavia, trying with the tacit consent of the other peoples' democratic countries and even of the Soviet Union, to reconquer the territories inhabited by Hungarians from Yugoslavia. Starting with the charge of revisionism and using it as a reason, they planned to provoke a mass of frontier incidents between Hungary and Yugoslavia. From the end of 1948 onwards, the Yugoslav Government raised the charge of revisionism against Hungary also in official terms, for example, the president of the Serbian Parliament made a statement in the Parliament protesting against the revisionist policy of the Hungarian Government. About the same time the frontier incidents provoked by the Yugoslavs also started, and in several cases even ended with the brutal murder of the peaceful Hungarian frontier guards ; and they put it all in such a way as if the frontier incident had been begun by the Hungarian side. It was also in connection with this plan that they issued leaflets in Yugoslav territory both in Hungarian and in Slav languages, the latter for the Yugoslavs living on Hungarian territory, which contained sharp attacks against the Hungarian government, anti-Soviet slanders, several times using a very loyal and friendly tone towards the United States, and they sent a part of these materials through their agents along the frontier to their cover-organisations, the Yugoslav-Hungarian Society and the organs of the South-Slav societies, to spread them.

But, what is much more serious, they brought very large quantities of them by the diplomatic bag to the Yugoslav Legation and the diplomatic corps of the Legation used to distribute and spread them.

The President : What were Rankovich's claims against Hungary on behalf of Yugoslavia?

Rajk : Prime Minister Tito and his suite, Djilas, Kardelj and Rankovich, had already communicated concrete demands concerning their claims after the seizure of power.

First they wanted to ensure their full right to command the armed forces, that is, the army and the police. To carry this out Prime Minister Tito told me that it was his most decided wish that Pálffy should become the Minister of Defence, for he was a reliable person from his point of view, and that the Yugoslav agent Anton Rob should become the Minister of Home

Affairs. Keeping in view, of course, the final aim of shaping a bloc of states, Tito demanded such a foreign policy, and its guarantees from Hungary, as would always be in harmony with the foreign policy of Yugoslavia, that is, that her foreign relations too should be subordinated to the Yugoslav Government. Finally, as Yugoslavia was a less developed country industrially, he claimed that the whole of Hungarian industry should in the first place be subordinated to the fulfillment of the Yugoslav Five Year Plan and economic policy, even if this overrode Hungarian interests. He considered that this was guaranteed by my person, for he wanted me to become Prime Minister, and by Pálffy and Anton Rob. He told me through Rankovich that he had no objections if the followers of Ferenc Nagy who had fled to the West and some of the social democrats who had fled to the West, also obtained seats in this government. So the essence of Tito's government plan was the conception of a right-wing coalition government.

The President : (showing a number of photographs) : Have a look at these photographs. Do you recognise the place of the Paks meeting on them?

Rajk (steps before the President, and looks at the photographs for long time) : Yes, I recognise the road, the environs and the keeper's hut, too.

The President (showing one of the photographs) : This is the road to the keeper's hut, is it not?

Rajk : Yes, this is the road to the keeper's hut. This is the keeper's hut itself. And this kilometre stone 116.

The President : This is the bus stop, is it not?

Rajk : Yes.

The President : And this is kilometre stone 116 from close by.

Rajk : Yes.

The President : Who was present at this meeting?

Rajk : At this meeting Antal Klein sitting in the gig, and Györgyi Tarisznyás were present.

The President : You said before in connection with the Paks meeting that it was the first time Rankovich said that your aims could be realised only by arms in the situation caused by the Information Bureau resolution exposing the policy of the leaders of Yugoslavia. Was that said in the course of the conversation?

Rajk : Yes, it was.

The President : Is that so? Was there no mention previously of arms and of violent means? At least, this is indicated by the statement you made before, saying that you consulted Korondy already in the summer of 1948, that is, before the Paks meeting,

about the necessity for organising certain special armed units with the aim of annihilating Hungarian political leaders — this so-called “liquidation”. Well, that too is an armed violent method. So it was already mentioned before. So it was not new.

Rajk : We discussed it in 1947 at the meeting in Kelebia . . .

The President : All right, I only wanted that. It was not mentioned first in Paks, but before.

Rajk : There is a difference I should like to underline. At the Kelebia meeting it was mentioned as a possibility that in the given situation, by armed force . . . Now the Tito plan emphasised clearly that these would be by armed force . . .

The President : You mean as the only possible means.

Rajk : Definitely as the only possible means and what is more, with the support of the Yugoslav forces.

The President : And what happened after the meeting in Paks? Outline that. What did you do in the interests of the things you discussed there?

Rajk : I spoke with Pálffy and told him what he had to do and later I spoke with Szőnyi too. I acquainted him with the conversation with Rankovich.

The President : What did you tell Pálffy?

Rajk : I told Pálffy that all the forces in the army should be listed and units should be formed which would be suitable to carry out such an armed putsch, taking into consideration that they would be supplemented by the Yugoslav units to be deployed by Tito and Rankovich and with the western units sent across.

The President : Did you not bring some instructions for Pálffy from Rankovich?

Rajk : Rankovich told me that Pálffy was in direct contact with them, too, and that he was responsible for the whole military side for they wanted to keep the military operations in their own hands.

The President : Did you not tell Pálffy that Rankovich had instructed him to work out a plan?

Rajk : I did not, for Pálffy had already got this order from the Yugoslavs through his own channels before I had spoken to him. He started to tell me about his plan and wanted to show sketches of the plan to me. I did not take it over, so he told me by word of mouth about the formation of various units for the occupation of institutions, telephone exchanges, ministries, etc. . . . First he reported to me about it only by word of mouth but at that time he outlined only the most important things.

The President : He worked it out in writing later?

Rajk : He worked it out later in writing and wanted to hand it over to me, but I did not accept it and he informed me only by word of mouth about the most important details.

The President : When was it that Pálffy mentioned the plan worked out in writing?

Rajk : It was at the beginning of 1949, but I don't quite know in which month.

The President : You say that it happened already at the beginning of 1949. That means that the essence of your relation to Pálffy was characterised at this time by your urging him to work out this plan, and you had certain talks about the matter. What did your contact with Tibor Szőnyi consist of?

Rajk : I consulted Tibor Szőnyi in the sense that he should carry out this mobilisation of the forces in the spheres of state policy and cadres policy. I made him acquainted with the fact that the question already was to carry out an armed putsch.

But the measures I had taken met with such difficulties when I tried to carry them out, that not very much came of the whole thing. First the man on whom Tito counted most, Mindszenty, was on the orders of the Hungarian Government placed under arrest and so the whole mobilisation of the reactionary forces based upon Catholic reaction failed. At the same time a great strengthening of the central government power started with the formation of the People's Front and in addition, with the purification of the army and of the different sections of the state apparatus, so that the Titoite concentration of forces received one blow after another or, considering the whole thing from another point of view, the Hungarian central government power, the people's democracy, was strengthened at a tremendously fast rate from the end of 1948. It was as a result of this that both Prime Minister Tito and the Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich displayed a great deal of nervousness with regard to Hungary. At the end of October, that is hardly three weeks after our meeting, Brankov visited me at Rankovich's behest.

Upon instructions from Rankovich, he told me that Rankovich and Djilas were not satisfied with developments in Hungary. Two weeks later, Mrazovich called on me, also on the instructions of Rankovich, to express their disapproval that we were not making satisfactory progress in organising the rightist reactionary forces, although Yugoslavia was rather advanced in concentrating the troops along the border. In reply, I told Mrazovich that no matter how much Premier Tito and the Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich were striving to carry out a putsch and to consolidate the forces, I must remind them that however blindly hostile our attitude

towards the democratic Hungarian regime was, we must be aware, if we think reasonably, that it would be impossible to effect such a putsch at that time. It was characteristic that in their reply, Premier Tito and the ministers Djilas, Kardelj and Rankovich not only did not reconsider their point of view, but on the contrary, instructed Brankov to pretend to desert Tito and side with the people's democracy. Then as a follower of the people's democracy living in Budapest, he could on the one hand supervise my activities and, following Rankovich's instructions, keep me under his control, and on the other hand he could keep up the connections between Rankovich and myself, concerning questions of the moment.

Summing up in brief, the more I came to the conclusion that, because of the development of affairs, it seemed almost impossible that anyone in his right senses should think of carrying out a putsch, the more reckless and determined Premier Tito and his companions became to interfere in Hungarian political life for the preparation of an armed putsch.

Upon instructions received from Rankovich, Brankov told me already in April that there was no need for me to be pessimistic, because while, on the one hand, the troop concentrations along the Hungarian border were proceeding in good order, on the other hand, in the person of Ferenc Kisbarnaki Farkas, contact was established with the Horthy-fascist military units gathered in the West. As they said, this Ferenc Kisbarnaki Farkas was the commander of the Horthyist, Szálasi-fascist military units quartered in the West, therefore the Titoites had in fact taken all measures to carry out their programme.

The President : In addition they were urging you all the time.

Rajk : Yes, they urged me.

The President : Was it perhaps in consequence of this urging that you allegedly discussed with Szőnyi a certain conference to be held in summer 1949. Do you know of this?

Rajk : Yes, I do. They were pressing me very much. I had to produce something at all costs, and although I pointed out to Mrazovich already in November that it was foolish even to think of carrying out such a putsch, yet in order to show something, I reported through Brankov that with the help of Szőnyi I was planning a conference to be held in late summer when the matter would be discussed.

The President : But you actually did negotiate with Szőnyi!

Rajk : I did indeed negotiate with Szőnyi. I told Szőnyi this, all the more so because if Brankov should wish on Rankovich's

instructions to check up on this matter, he could convince himself that I had actually told Szőnyi this.

The President : And when in that certain respect you gave a negative reply to Brankov, was it then your final attitude, or was it only for the time being?

Rajk : My attitude was only for the time being, because objectively I considered the carrying out of the plan impossible.

The President : You did not anticipate a change even with regard to the future?

Rajk : This means that had an opportunity presented itself in the future, I certainly would have seized upon it.

In connection with Tito's support by intervention, I must also mention what Brankov as well as Mrazovich told me on instructions from Rankovich and as a message from Tito, namely, that they were thinking not only of intervention, of armed "assistance" to Hungary, but that they were also trying at the same time to create, in the peoples' democracies surrounding Hungary, adequate conditions favourable for the accomplishment of such an action.

This policy comprised the beginning of what was already reported to me and for which I, as a person reading foreign newspapers, could also obtain actual evidence, namely, that in the countries where the Catholic church enjoyed greater influence, that is mainly in Poland and Czechoslovakia, large-scale disturbances similar to a political campaign or to the one initiated by Mindszenty, began against the regimes of the respective countries.

Tito sent me word saying that with regard to Bulgaria, against whom nationality grievances could be raised artificially, this policy for crystallising the reaction would be promoted through nationality questions, in instigating serious nationality incidents. With reference to the whole bloc policy, Rankovich had already remarked in Paks that they would dispose of a small country like Albania in no time, as they would not only colonise it but would abolish it as an independent country and incorporate it in Yugoslavia.

Most decisive was Tito's plan for aid to Greece. When I spoke to Rankovich in Paks, he already emphasised that there was no reason for them to conceal their policy from Greece. Rather it was in their interest that the United States should strengthen its basis there in agreement with them, that is, with the Titoites, and the sooner the better. Just for this reason Yugoslavia, though still using some concealment, would come out ever more openly for the isolation of democratic free Greece from the rest of the peoples' democracies, so that, in consequence of her isolation she should be strangled, with the monarchist forces gaining the upper hand.

Rankovich also told me that, almost at the same time as the events in Hungary, with methods similar to those used in Hungary, that is, by means of their legations — which since 1945 in every peoples' democracy had set up hostile spy organisations and recruited the reactionary forces — they would strive to induce their followers on the spot to do active political work, exploiting almost the same reactionary forces as those already enumerated in connection with Hungary. In other words: Tito's policy of intervention in connection with Hungary would be organically completed by the policy continually pursued by Tito towards the other peoples' democracies. As he put it, besides the United States undertaking something against the Soviet Union at the time of a putsch, Yugoslavia, too, to tie the hands of the Soviet Union, would in certain peoples' democracies provide for various disturbances of a lesser or greater degree to make the chaos complete. Of course, the final aim in these peoples' democracies would also be the overthrow of the regime and the restoration of capitalism.

The President: Were you informed of Brankov's pretended change of sides?

Rajk: I was informed immediately after he changed sides.

The President: You will soon tell us of this and we shall clear it up. When you became aware that Brankov's change of sides was only a pretence, what followed then? In the course of the conversation with you, Brankov once asked you for some special task, that you should try to dispel the lack of confidence towards him, as he felt that certain prominent people distrusted him. Briefly tell us something about this.

Rajk: He asked me for two special tasks. One was, that he felt that Rákosi, General Secretary of the Hungarian Working People's Party, Farkas, the Deputy General Secretary and Gábor Péter, head of the State Defence Authority did not have full confidence in him. He based this on the fact that he had worked out some plan and he felt that they had only pretended to adopt it and displayed lack of confidence towards him. He requested me as member of the secretariat of the Hungarian Working People's Party to exert my influence to strengthen confidence in him, that is, to restore it completely. I told him there was no point in my acceding to this, as I actually knew that such mistrust existed.

The President: What was the other special task?

Rajk: The other special task was, that in February, 1949, or thereabout, he asked me in my capacity as Minister of Foreign Affairs occasionally to put at his disposal the diplomatic courier and a car of the diplomatic service in order to enable him to maintain

contact with Rankovich without danger, so that Yugoslav spies carrying out special instructions might enter Hungary uncontrolled.

The President: Did you comply with this?

Rajk: Owing to the above considerations, I did not comply with this request.

The President: I have one final question for you. What was the name of your father?

Rajk: József, but he is dead.

The President: What was his surname?

Rajk: József Rajk.

The President: That is, József Rajk, as you say. What was your grandfather's name?

Rajk: (irritated). My grandfather being of Saxon descent, wrote his name as Reich.

The President: So you say that your grandfather was called Reich. How did it become Rajk. Legally?

Rajk: Legally.

The President: How?

Rajk: I could not give the exact date when it was legalized. In my certificate of baptism it is still spelled with an á, that is, Reich became Rájk; anyhow, my university papers were made out in the present spelling.

The President: You simply used an "a" dropping the accent. And this you call legal?

Rajk: (remains silent).

The President: So you know that Rajk came from Reich.

Rajk: In this respect I wish to add that I am of Aryan descent, and genuinely too, because on one side I am Saxon. The Hungarian Aryan law...

The President: The question is not whether you are of Aryan or Saxon descent. But look here, this is your birth certificate (showing the accused): born on March 8, 1909, your father was József Rájk, his son was László, that is you. If the Minister of Home Affairs had not approved it, you were using this name illegally.

Rajk: (goes up to the platform to look at the paper, hands it back to the President and returns to the microphone.)

The President: That will be all. The session will be resumed tomorrow morning at nine o'clock.

Examination of György Pálffy.

On Saturday morning the Special Council of the Budapest People's Court continued the trial in the case of László Rajk and his accomplices.

The President : Have the People's Judges any questions to put to the accused László Rajk?

The People's Judges answer that they have no questions.

The President : And the prosecutor?

People's Prosecutor Dr. Gyula Alapi : I do not wish to ask any questions.

The President : The defence?

Counsel for Defence Dr. Elek Kaszó : I have no question.

The President : Then László Rajk, be seated. Bring in the accused György Pálffy.

Before the examination of György Pálffy, Counsel for Defence Dr. István Kovács asks to speak :

— Before you begin the examination of the accused, I would request that you give him permission to use his notes when making his statement.

The President : There is no objection, he may if he wishes use his notes at his discretion. — György Pálffy, did you understand the indictment?

Pálffy : I understood it.

The President : Do you admit your guilt?

Pálffy : I plead guilty.

The President : To the actions stated in the indictment?

Pálffy : Yes.

The President : Were you a professional officer of the Horthy army?

Pálffy : Yes.

The President : What rank did you hold?

Pálffy : I resigned from the Horthy army with the rank of first lieutenant.

The President : For what reason did you resign?

Pálffy : On personal grounds. I wanted to have a military career in the Horthy army. I studied in the Military Academy in 1939 to become a staff officer. My wife was of Jewish extraction. As a professional officer, I could not marry her. Despite the fact that I held fascist convictions, this private and personal reason forced me to resign from the army. That is why I resigned from the Horthy army in 1939. This circumstance caused a certain amount of anti-German feeling in me. Despite that, I thought until the winter of 1942-43 that German fascism would win the war, and only after the Don débacle did I realise that the Germans had lost the war. Then, however, I thought that Britain and America would occupy Hungary and that a bourgeois democratic tendency would take the place of fascism. This suited my political standpoint. Only in 1944 did I see that it was obvious that Hungary would not be occupied by Britain and America, but by the Soviet Union. I concluded from this that the Communist Party would have great influence in Hungary after the war, that socialism would evolve in Hungary. This did not suit my political standpoint.

The President : Who were your parents?

Pálffy : I come from a bourgeois family. My father was a bank director, my grandfather a kulak. My education was also bourgeois, both at the grammar school and at home, and especially at the Ludovica Academy, where the counter-revolutionary officer corps was educated and trained, and where I too was educated. This education was further strengthened when I served in the Italian fascist army for one year in Italy, where I asked to be sent to study as a prospective staff officer. I asked to be sent there because then Mussolini and the fascist regime was my political ideal. This also left its impression on me. So, taking all in all, it had the result that the expected changes in Hungary, which could already be foreseen in 1944, did not please me.

The President : What standpoint did you take in the face of this in practice?

Pálffy : In practice I tried to find my place in the regime that could be expected to take shape, not to serve this regime truly and honestly, but to get myself a high post in the state machinery, acquire influence and use this in the service of my unchanged political convictions, that is in the interests of the western imperialists.

The President : Why? What were you thinking of?

Pálffy : I was thinking that sooner or later the time would come when such a regime would come to power in Hungary too, and I, who had served this regime, would then attain to an even higher post.

The President : You hoped through your machinations that as a result you would advance still further. Did you speak about this to István Lánicz?

Pálffy : In 1944, when I became sharply conscious of this problem, and when I had to decide what attitude to adopt towards the trend to be expected, I talked this question over more than once with my old friend, Captain István Lánicz, an officer of the Horthy army.

The President : And what decision did you reach?

Pálffy : I agreed with him that he should go to the west with the Horthy army in which he was then actually serving. Then the stream to the west was well under way. He should make contacts there with the British and Americans, depending on who would capture him, or under whose authority he was. I would stay at home and would attempt to establish the strongest possible left-wing contacts, and would even try somehow to establish contacts with the Communist Party, about whose existence I had already heard, to ensure progress in this way in the interests of the above aims. Our idea was, that however the situation was to turn out, we would, the one on behalf of the other,...

The President : Guarantee the other.

Pálffy : Cover up for one another. I called Lánicz home, I told him he could come home. I cleared him although I knew that he had, in fact, made contact with the British Intelligence Service out there. I not only did not call him to account, or have him called to account, but sent him back to the army and helped him to a responsible position. I appointed him deputy inspector of the artillery.

The President : After that at home you quickly came into contact with László Rajk. Please speak about this.

Pálffy : Yes. My contact with Rajk began in 1945. At that time it was not yet close, but began increasingly to develop from then onwards. I was then chief of the military political department, and he was the Party secretary for Greater Budapest. We met quite often. We were mutually sympathetic to one another. It became increasingly clear that our political convictions and outlook were the same. This became clear despite the fact that at that time Rajk made me feel, not quite openly, but under cover, an important part of his political convictions in which he agreed with me. This was that we were enemies of the working class and socialism, of the Soviet Union, and that we were both supporters of such a western, bourgeois democratic regime.

The President : When, and to what extent, did your common standpoint become finally clear after that?

Pálffy : In the spring of 1946 when I made a general, and in addition to being chief of the military political department was given a new assignment as the commander-in-chief of the frontier guards, I noticed that Rajk's interest in me was growing. From then on he already spoke more openly in front of me, his destructive criticism of the Party leadership and of the Soviet Union became more open. This became more intense at the end of 1946 and the beginning of 1947. He was then Minister of Home Affairs. We met much more frequently. Then we no longer expressed our points of view in front of one another in a more or less disguised manner, but spoke openly against the system that was then already developing and against the prospective development which was then already evident. We were already saying then that something would have to be done in the interests of our conceptions.

The President : What was the perspective then? Development towards socialism?

Pálffy : The perspective at that time was that the country would progress towards socialism along the path of people's democracy. We were already saying then that the need was for an active fight and action.

The President : That in the face of this development...

Pálffy : In the face of this development we would have to take an active stand. It was clear that the final aim, and at the same time the means, of this active stand was the seizure of power.

The President : How did you think to seize power?

Pálffy : In those days we imagined that, in the first place, we would try to make the two armed forces, the police and the army, which were, because of our official positions, under our influence, into a personal instrument on which we could safely rely in our efforts for the seizure of power. Therefore he, in the police, and I, in the army, carried on planned and conscious work from that time onwards.

The President : Say something about this conscious work.

Pálffy : My destructive work of this kind in the army was in various directions. The most important and far-reaching branch was the cadres policy. I sabotaged the drawing of working class cadres into the army, and I not only did not support the few workers who were nevertheless already there, or managed to get in, but pushed them back, relegating them to a secondary position. I was the chief of the military political department for three years and during these years not a single worker managed to get into a leading position even of a lower grade. On the contrary, in the interests of the aim previously mentioned, I brought back former officers of the Horthy

army who were partly of pro-western convictions, partly of fascist, chauvinist sympathies, in great numbers ; I promoted and supported them and helped them to high posts. In this way, in addition to Lánecz, I put Dezső Németh in the post of chief-of-staff of the frontier guards ; Korondy, who had been a gendarme, I put into an important post in the frontier guards, and later, at Rajk's request, I permitted him to be transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The President : Are there any additional names which you could mention?

Pálffy : Földi was also an officer of the old Horthy army. The second branch of my planned, destructive work was political education and the political direction in the army which I directed in a deliberately chauvinist spirit. I said repeatedly that there was no need for a proletarian dictatorship for progress but that we could peacefully grow into socialism. The need is not for the Party to lead the country, but, as in Yugoslavia, for a mass organisation of the nature of the People's Front, in which all sections of the population regardless of class, the town and the village bourgeoisie also have their place, and this plays the leading role.

. In this Trotskyist way, — of course carefully and under cover — I introduced anti-Soviet propaganda into the political direction. I underestimated the role of the Soviet Union and, on the other hand, I emphasised the role of Tito and Yugoslavia, because this regime, because of its militarist character, suited me politically, and pleased me at that time. My further destructive activities I carried out within the military political department where, in my capacity as president of the Party organisation, I consciously introduced such a dictatorial system. I composed the Party leadership from among the heads of the Department, the section and sub-section chiefs, who, being, of course, directly subordinated to me, simply carried out my orders as Party president. Thus, inner-party democracy withered away, criticism became impossible, and through this I wanted to succeed in weakening the fighting ability of the military political department in the struggle against the imperialist agents, and that they should not, through such internal criticism, discover the hostile activities I carried on, for example, in the sphere of cadres policy. Generally I considered the Party organisation within the Army as an obstacle from the point of view of our plans. I endeavoured to remove this obstacle. It came to this in 1947, when Rajk returned from Yugoslavia. He told me that he would dissolve the Party organisations within the police ; he told me I should do the same within the Army. The same was suggested by my Yugoslav contact, Colonel Lozich, the Yugoslav military attaché.

So I started even at the end of 1947 through my trusted agents, to propagate that the Party organisations should be transformed and that a mass organisation should be formed in their place and, in fact, at the beginning of 1948 I had already succeeded in dissolving the Party organisations within the Army and in their place establishing a mass organisation which included the whole officers' corps and which was an instrument for me to educate the officers' corps in a chauvinist spirit and through them the whole Army as well. I carried on further destructive activities in my capacity of commander-in-chief of the frontier guards. In this field my aim was to hinder the unity which was developing with the neighbouring peoples' democratic countries. The frontier guard was a very good means for this. I could easily cause frontier incidents both on the Czechoslovak and Rumanian border, through the Horthyist officers appointed to the frontier guard. I arbitrarily had the frontier closed to those with land on both sides of the frontier. So I achieved that the peasants on the other side of the frontier became anti-Hungarian because the measure injured their economic interests ; the peasants on this side of the frontier who could not get over to harvest or plough became hostile to people's democracy. These measures at the same time caused strained relations between Rumania and Hungary, and Czechoslovakia and Hungary. On the Yugoslav and Austrian frontiers I did not strengthen the frontier guards, but on the contrary, I weakened them — in order to let the representatives of the regime I preferred go more quietly and freely to and fro, across the frontier. So I knew that the Yugoslav secret service had many spies among the officers and warrant officers of the Hungarian frontier guards stationed on the Yugoslav frontier, and that there were also many Tito sympathisers there. Not only did I not remove them, but we agreed with Rajk — for the situation in the frontier police along the Yugoslav frontier, which was under his command, was the same — that we should not yield to the demand coming from below urging the purification of the frontier guards and the frontier police after the resolution of the Information Bureau. We decided that we would not dismiss anybody and in fact we did not remove a single man from there.

I also carried out such concrete destructive activities on the southern frontier at the demand of a later Yugoslav contact of mine, the military attaché Žokalj, Lozich's successor. After the well-known Information Bureau resolution he asked me to make it possible for Tito to send propaganda material to Hungary smoothly and without any obstacles. I examined the southern frontier and indicated five points to him. Three of them were in Transdanubia and two between the Danube and the Tisza. I knew the conditions

there, I knew that the frontier guard was weak, I knew the terrain, and besides, I secretly weakened the strength of the patrols there still further. I indicated these points to Žokalj and in fact anti-Soviet papers and leaflets attacking the resolution were brought over there at that time. I carried on these destructive activities within the Army. My aim was, on the one hand, that the Hungarian Army should not be used on the side of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies in case of war, in case of an imperialist aggression, and on the other hand, that the army should become an obedient instrument in our hands, in our activities aiming at the seizure of power.

The President : When did you agree with Rajk that the Army should become an obedient instrument in your hands to seize power?

Pálffy : The middle of 1947 was the time when this became concretely clear to us. It was preceded by a visit from Rajk in spring, the early summer of 1947, to my flat in Buda. On this occasion we talked about the necessity of seizing power at any price. We said, even at the price of armed violence. Rajk said that we could count on the support of Yugoslavia, we could count on the support of Tito, Rankovich and the Yugoslav leaders in general, with whom he had very good relations of long standing. He told me that soon he would go there because of this. He would go to Yugoslavia on the pretext of having a rest, for it was important that he should establish personal and close contact with Rankovich. In fact, this journey took place.

The President : Wait a bit. You spoke with Rajk about the seizure of power sooner, not only in 1947.

Pálffy : We had spoken from the end of 1946 about the necessity for seizing power and forming a government.

The President : So the only thing you mentioned later was that you would perhaps use the Army as well, in the interests of the violent realisation of the seizure of the power?

Pálffy : Yes, this was a process which started at the end of 1946. It was greatly advanced and its character became crystallised in the autumn of 1947, when the Yugoslavs joined. The direction became completely clear then : to strive to seize power by way of an armed putsch, by making use of the army and the police and with the adequate help of the Yugoslavs.

The President : Now continue what you started to say before, that is, that Rajk mentioned that he would go to Yugoslavia.

Pálffy : Yes. In fact, he did leave and spent a few weeks there. After his return I called upon him in the Ministry of Home Affairs, where he told me in detail about his visit to Yugoslavia. He told me

that he had talked with Rankovich and other leaders, too. He told me about his talk with Rankovich, and also said that he had informed Rankovich about our conceptions. Rankovich not only agreed with them, but influenced Rajk most definitely in this direction, instructing him that we should direct our activities towards the seizure of power, and suggested the armed putsch as the only possible means to achieve it. He also promised the help and support of Tito and the Yugoslav Government and reassured us that not only Yugoslavia would back this enterprise, but the United States of America, too, with whom they, that is, Tito and Rankovich, had good contacts from the time of the Second World War. In addition, Rajk also told me that according to the information given by Rankovich, the situation between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union was tense and would become even more tense in the future. In this question Rajk agreed with Yugoslavia. My Yugoslav contact dates from the same time, roughly about the middle of 1947. I had some similar talks of a political character with Colonel Lozich. In the course of these talks, Lozich explained that Yugoslavia liberated herself by her own efforts and would gradually come more and more under the influence of the United States. Hungary has to follow this path, too. Hungary is backward in this respect, but this backwardness can be changed with one single political volte face. In connection with this, he referred to the fact that Rajk had a part to play in this political volte face. Rajk was the politician who was, according to the opinion of the Yugoslav leaders, suitable to carry out such a political volte face. It was he who then gave me the advice that I was to work in the interests of this, within the army, for the army was an important means for carrying out such a political volte face.

The President : What do you know about the further contacts of Rajk with Rankovich?

Pálffy : I know of a meeting which took place at the end of 1947, on the occasion of Tito's well-known visit. I was not at home at the time of Tito's visit ; I was in Rome at that time. After my return, Rajk told me that he had succeeded in talking confidentially to Rankovich on the way home — as far as I remember — when he accompanied the delegation to the frontier. He informed him about our situation. This time, Rankovich gave him new instructions. The essence was roughly this : the preliminary conditions of Tito's and Rankovich's support for our plan were that Rajk should form a strong anti-Party, anti-Soviet chauvinist group from among his men in the state apparatus, in the army and in the police to have a basis on which he could rely and which would be at his disposal for seizing power.

I know about another meeting of Rajk and Rankovich, too. This happened in October, 1948. It was an illegal secret meeting and took place in Hungary. Rajk told me that he met Rankovich somewhere in Transdanubia and informed him about our progress in the execution of our plan. Rankovich was not satisfied with the rate of progress. He urged us on, and at the same time he gave concrete instructions, too. Rankovich indicated the spring of 1949 as the latest time for the putsch, the armed uprising. He gave directions to Rajk concerning the carrying out of the putsch, too. I confess that this was no longer news to me, for I had previously received the same directions from Colonel Žokalj, the military attaché. These directions which Rankovich had, according to Rajk, outlined were the following: the removal of the Party leadership, the removal of the government and the formation of the new Party leadership and the new government, should be carried out with the help of the reliable units of the army and the police, before the spring of 1949 at the latest. The Party leadership and the new government, in general the leading of the country, should be taken over by Rajk. As Rankovich explained — according to Rajk, whose words I quote — the decisive part of the armed putsch and the preliminary condition for its success was the arrest of the Party leaders, Rákosi, Farkas, Gerő, and in case of resistance, even their physical annihilation . . . Since that was to be the decisive part of the putsch, it should be prepared in the most detailed and most precise way. Rankovich also promised to give special help in this. For the rest his directive was that the putsch should be carried out, as a surprise, in occupying the key positions in Budapest, carrying out the arrests I mentioned before, and later a proclamation should be published, emphasising for the time being, as a blind, friendship with the Soviet Union, but already pointing out the close alliance with Yugoslavia; this proclamation should already stress that Hungary offers to act as a mediator in the so-called differences of opinion between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Independently of the proclamation, however, we must immediately begin turning the country against the Soviet Union and, in close alliance with Yugoslavia, transfer her into the camp of the United States of America. Rankovich also said that according to Tito's dispositions the preparation of the putsch in the state machinery was Rajk's task; the army and the police, that is, the use of the armed forces, were my task. Rankovich also said that according to Tito's disposition, Rajk would be the Prime Minister of the new government and I its Minister of Defense.

The President: Tell us of your direct contacts with official Yugoslav persons.

Pálffy: I was in contact with altogether four Yugoslav persons. This contact of mine began in December, 1945. I was then chief of the military political department, and Lazar Brankov, who drew me into the service of the Yugoslav intelligence, was one of the heads of the Yugoslav military mission, which operated under the Control Committee. It was in this capacity that we got to know each other and met a few times. On these occasions we spoke about political questions and it soon turned out that we were both anti-Soviet and that our views were similar. Before him I made no secret of the fact that Tito and his system appealed to me very much. Brankov used this to draw me more and more into the Yugoslav intelligence service, to ask me for data. I regularly handed over data to Brankov, from the second part of 1945 until the middle of 1947, data of a secret military, political and economic nature.

My connection with him came to an end in the middle of 1947 because someone else took over his role — Colonel Lozich, the Yugoslav military attaché. He arrived in Budapest; he was the first Yugoslav military attaché. He visited me, and told me that he knew of my connection with Brankov, that in Belgrade my person and achievements in their interest were highly esteemed, and in the future they wanted me to have an even more important role. He emphasised that he was not only a military attaché, not a mere military attaché, but that he was first of all Tito's confidential agent who had important tasks here in Hungary. He told me outright that from now on I should inform him, for he had taken over Brankov's role. I gave him first of all data of a military nature on the organisation of the army, on the war industries, on the political composition of the army, confidential reports on the political education of the officers — everything that he asked for. My connection with him lasted until the beginning of 1948. Then, because of an incident, he suddenly had to leave. He had to leave so suddenly that he was not even able to let me know who his successor would be. He told me, however, that whoever his successor, the new Yugoslav military attaché, would be, he would also be Tito's trusted representative, and an agent of the Yugoslav secret service. I should mention him, Lozich. And that is actually how it happened. Some two months later the new military attaché, Colonel Žokalj, arrived. He told me, right at his first visit, that he knew my role and that he would take Lozich's place. Then I informed Žokalj, I gave him data, I engaged in espionage for him, first of all on the organisation, armament, equipment and plans for the development of the army, and the plans for the development of the war industry which were at that time already in existence.

My connection which Žokalj lasted also to the end, up to his departure, until the very end of 1948.

Besides these three people, I was in contact in the meantime with one other Yugoslav person. In October, 1947, Lozich told me that Tito was coming to Budapest with a government delegation, but he (Lozich) thought that it would not be wise if I tried here to get in contact and talk with a person above him in rank. This would be hard to carry out here because of the heavy programme and the great publicity. He would rather recommend something else. The International Partisan Congress would take place in Rome at the same time. I should arrange to go there representing Hungary. There the Yugoslav delegation would be led by Colonel Nedelkovich, one of the Ministers of the Serbian Federal Republic; he is Tito's confidential agent. I should get in contact with him, and he would give me information, broader lines than that which Lozich himself could tell me. I actually did this. With Rajk's aid I was able to arrange that the Partisan Association send me to Rome. Then I got in touch with Colonel Nedelkovich who already knew all about me. I had a very thorough discussion with Nedelkovich. By way of introduction Nedelkovich strongly emphasised that he was commissioned by Tito himself, and that he had come to Rome to establish contact with me and to inform me now of Tito's plans in their broader aspects and of my assignment. The substance of this was that, according to the plan worked out by Tito and Rankovich personally, which, as Nedelkovich said, considered the interests of the United States of America, and was moreover co-ordinated with her representatives, the peoples' democracies must be wrenched away one by one from the Soviet Union. Hungary too, must follow this way. The peoples' democratic countries and among them Hungary too, must be gradually transferred into the camp led by the United States of America and must be turned against the Soviet Union. The execution of this political change was Rajk's task. My task was to support Rajk through making sure of the army.

The President : You undertook to do this for Nedelkovich?

Pálffy : I did. As regards home policy a change to the People's Front must be made; not the Party should be the leading force but the People's Front which united the remnants of the bourgeoisie and contained also the capitalist class. Nedelkovich supplemented all this with another detail. Within the framework of the great plan previously mentioned, the substance of which was to wrench these countries from the side of the Soviet Union and draw them over to the American side, Tito, together with the Americans, worked out a detailed plan, a regional plan, the plan of the Balkan federation.

This Balkan federation would have consisted, according to the plan, of Yugoslavia as the leading power, of Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, and perhaps later — said Nedelkovich — of Rumania.

This association would have been an anti-Soviet bloc and would have formed a part of the network of such blocs, all brought into existence by America, which would all have served to encircle the Soviet Union. The leader, creator and head of this Balkan association would be Tito, Nedelkovich said. I gave an account of this conversation with Nedelkovich to Rajk upon my return. Rajk was not surprised but said that he knew of these plans through his own channels. As a matter of fact, both of us approved of these ideas.

These four persons were my Yugoslav contacts. But I wish to say that though I did indeed supply information and commit espionage, the main point of these contacts was not this. The Yugoslavs stressed not getting information but directing our machinations through the persons previously mentioned, who were all Tito's and Rankovich's personal agents.

The President : But besides this, you did espionage work for Brankov, Lozich, Nedelkovich and Žokalj. Of what nature were the data you handed over? Give some details of this.

Pálffy : I transmitted to Brankov the organisational structure of the army at that time, with special attention to the frontier guards because he was most interested in that, so I accurately described the individual units, gave the names and character sketches of the commanding officers; the disposition, equipment, arms and size of the units. In addition I supplied the data I had on the units of the Soviet Army stationed in the country. I had some data on where, in which town, Soviet forces of this or that branch of the military services were stationed. These data, too, I handed over. Also the news and data or plans of an economic and political nature about which I found out at the Party Centre. From the middle of 1947 onwards, right until the end of 1947, I met Brankov on several occasions, every two months as a rule, and then I always gave him data verbally, or in writing.

To Lozich I gave first of all military information, the detailed organisation and equipment of the army, statistics on the composition of the officer corps, confidential reports on the political situation within the army, reports on the prevailing atmosphere, reports on the political education and, at Lozich's request, data on the war industry. Lozich asked data on the capacity of the Hungarian war industry before the war, during the war, at its peak, and at present.

To Žokalj I transmitted data of the same nature, for in the meantime there had been a change in the organisation of the army. In addition I gave him concrete information on our officers' training planned for years in advance and also on the plans for the development of our war industry.

These were the data I handed over. These I learnt *ex officio* in my capacity as head of the military political department, and later, as inspector of the army.

The President : In your opinion, were the data you gave away among those of the most confidential character?

Pálffy : Some of them were, though not all, but there was more than one that was strictly confidential.

The President : You received from Nedelkovich in Rome directives in substance identical with those which Rajk — as you later heard from him — had received from Rankovich? They were essentially much the same?

Pálffy : They were, since I had my separate connections with Tito and Rankovich, through Lozich, Žokalj and once through Nedelkovich.

The President : And in just the same way, the instructions that Rajk received later from Rankovich at the meeting in Paks, were in substance identical with those which you received from Žokalj.

Pálffy : They were identical.

The President : Following from the reason you mentioned before.

Pálffy : Yes.

The President : Referring to that meeting in Paks, what orders were given to you and what orders did you carry out in the interest of getting Rankovich cross the frontier? Can you remember?

Pálffy : Yes, I can. At that time I did not know that it was Rankovich.

The President : Yes.

Pálffy : It was about the beginning of October when Rajk told me this much — that I should facilitate the smooth, undisturbed, illegal crossing of the frontier and the return, on the same day, of a prominent Yugoslav personage. I wanted to throw light upon certain details that did not yet appear quite clear to me. Then it turned out that it would be an automobile with a Hungarian licence number in which that person would be sitting. He would have to cross the frontier one day somewhere in Transdanubia, possibly near the Danube, that is, as far east in Transdanubia as possible, and return the same day without being exposed to hindrance, or being

checked up on, or detained in any way. This was the task. I accepted it since, being the superior officer of the frontier guard, I was familiar with the conditions, and I knew that I should be able to prepare it and accomplish it.

I accepted. Some three or four days later I informed Rajk of the place I had picked out. I know the Yugoslav border well. There is a village called Udvar situated between ten and twenty kilometres south of Mohács. Some two kilometres north of Udvar the Eszék-Mohács highway runs on Hungarian soil directly along the frontier so that the road, the edge of the highway, forms the Hungarian-Yugoslav border. Beyond the Yugoslav border there are plough-lands with cart tracks. It is completely open territory. If a car stops on the border and looks for some time across into Hungary, then he can find out if there is any movement, any frontier guard or patrolling sentry. If there is not, the car rolls smoothly over those couple of hundred metres — on the highway — and in a few minutes is near Mohács, far away from the frontier strip, which is the only place where anything can happen. I chose this section. I knew that at that place the guard was very small in number. At that time the numerical strength of the guard was such that only two sentries could be sent out daily. So it was very easy for a car to avoid running into the arms of the sentries.

When Rajk told me about the meeting with Rankovich and his talks with him, I learned then that Rankovich was that important personality and that he in fact crossed the border.

The President : In the course of your attempts aimed against the state order, what other measures did you carry out on the Yugoslav border in order to open the frontier? Can you remember anything?

Pálffy : I remember, what I stated before, that once Žokalj asked me to make possible the bringing over of propaganda material.

The President : Yes. Will you please tell us in detail how and where this happened?

Pálffy : It was after the resolution of the Information Bureau. Žokalj then informed me that the Titoites would launch systematic propaganda in the surrounding peoples' democracies, directed against the Soviet Union, against the resolution of the Information Bureau. He knew from the Titoites that they wanted to carry out a similar propaganda campaign in Hungary also, and that for this purpose, illegal propaganda material, printed matter, leaflets and booklets must be smuggled into the country.

The President : How did you carry this out? Tell us about it.

Pálffy : I selected five places on the southern Yugoslav border; three in Transdanubia, two between the Danube and the Tisza, where, on the one hand, smuggling across the frontier was especially easy, and on the other hand, the numerical strength of the guard was inadequate to seal the frontier. I made it even easier by transferring men to other guards; thus the number of guards at these special places was further weakened.

The President : Now summarise what orders you, or Rajk received from members of the Yugoslav Government, concerning acts of terrorism to be organised against certain members of the Hungarian Government.

Pálffy : The first time was about the end of 1947, when I had a talk in Rome with Nedelkovich. He told me that in the course of the changes to be effected in Hungary, the Party leaders would have to be removed, they would have to be set aside. However, he did not then reveal their names, nor did he tell me explicitly what he by meant, the word "setting aside" but that was the expression he used. I received orders from Rankovich through Žokalj, and Rajk received identical instructions from Rankovich. He told me that the armed putsch would begin with the arrest of three leading members of the Party and Government, namely Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő, and in the event of resistance, their annihilation. It was clear to me what the formula "annihilation in the event of resistance", really meant. I knew that it meant the killing of the persons in question.

The President : Yes.

Pálffy : This order came to me along two lines: from Tito and from Rankovich.

The President : What did you do to carry out this order?

Pálffy : In the plan which I prepared for the bringing about of the putsch, this was, in conformity with my instructions, a decisive item. The relevant part of the plan ran as follows: — Colonel Korondy, who as Rajk had told me, had known of our illegal activities for a long time, was entrusted with the formation of three groups, three small groups each consisting of about a dozen men, who in the late hours of the evening would have to put into effect simultaneously the arrest of Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő, and who would also have to kill them if they resisted. The plan was — Rajk said this — that since it was the most important part of the plan, the putsch had to be done on a day when the three politicians were sure to be in Budapest, that is, on a day of the meeting of the Political Committee or of the Council of Ministers. He set the time for 11 p. m. or later, when they would surely sooner or later get home. After

having spied out their residence, the groups, each consisting of a dozen men, would have attacked and disarmed the entourage and arrested those concerned. I even talked of this question in a concrete form with Korondy. This was in April 1949, a few days before May 1. Korondy already knew of his assignment from Rajk, but I talked it over with him in greater detail. When I told him of the above task, he said that he had subordinates who had been gendarmes, at present serving in the police and in the army. He could set up these groups from among these. Then I told him of what Žokalj and Rajk had heard from Rankovich: that we would get aid from Rankovich for this part also. For Rankovich not only emphasised the importance of this act of terrorism but even promised concrete help in it. He said that before the putsch he would put a group of Yugoslav people who were, however, of Hungarian nationality, over the border and who would wear Hungarian army or police uniforms as experts, in fact as hired assassins, with the purpose of making them available for this act. I told Korondy, even if not in such great detail, that they could count on Yugoslav aid and would get a special force to perform this task.

The President : Earlier on you mentioned the plan of the intended armed rising which you drew up. Now give me the details of the drawing up of this plan. From whom did you get directions for preparing the plan? When did you work it out and what was its content?

Pálffy : I had instructions for drawing up the plan for the putsch through two intermediaries, but in the last resort, from one person, namely Rankovich, for Žokalj conveyed Rankovich's words and Rajk, too, transmitted his talk with Rankovich. Both of them instructed me to work out the concrete plan at this stage. I did work it out according to the considerations mentioned previously which came from Rankovich. This was as early as November or December 1948. I told Rajk the outline of my plan orally, the substance being that the putsch must be started by ten battalions of the army and units of the police. In Budapest certain key points, first of all the Central Headquarters of the Party, the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Home Affairs, the State Defence Authority, the Radio, the offices of "Szabad Nép", public works, ministries, railway-stations, and in addition, some working class districts where we could count on resistance, would have to be occupied by these forces. Simultaneously with this, immediately before the occupation, the arrest of the three politicians mentioned previously had to be carried out by small groups. I would be commander of the whole armed force, while Colonel Korondy would command the police unit. This

was my general plan. Rajk approved this. I received instructions to draw up a detailed plan later.

The President : From whom?

Pálffy : From Rajk. The reason for the delay was that we could not propose a day for the time of the putsch — as Rankovich said that a definite date could be set only with his approval, so we first had to talk it over with him — because a score of events, on account of which we had to keep on delaying things, intervened. In the autumn of 1948 supervision of Party members began and this compelled us to wait, for we did not know who would be affected, perhaps the very people in the police and the army on whom we based our plans. At the beginning of 1949, working class cadres gradually came to the foreground both in the police and in the army. This again partly upset the plan. So this was the reason why the matter took so long and we delayed with the date. Therefore, it was only in May 1949 that Rajk instructed us that now we must not delay any longer, we must set the date for the end of May or for the beginning of June and that I should work out the detailed plan. I worked out the detailed plan for myself, noting down in my own hand on two pages the most important things, in ten points, as memoranda. On a separate sheet, on an outline map of Greater Budapest, I marked the key points which had to be occupied, and filled in the size of the occupying forces. I indicated the three political groups and the time when they would have to step into action in ten points, and also the kind of forces taking part in the putsch, that is, the local units of the army. I enumerated the points which would have to be occupied in Budapest, exactly calculating the time when the command would have to be issued from Budapest to the troops in the provinces. The whole thing was timed in such a way that it should start in the evening and by next day even the last units should arrive from the country and occupy the important positions in Budapest that were marked out for them. It also contained whom I would appoint to command the individual units. Following Rajk's Yugoslav trip in the summer of 1947 — when at Yugoslav instructions, preparations for the putsch formed a definite task — we already talked about the need for rehearsing certain technical things. For this we should arrange trial mobilisations.

The President : Did you carry out this trial mobilisation?

Pálffy : Yes, I did. We had three opportunities for this. In the spring of 1948, when troops had to be concentrated to receive the flags. The second opportunity came in September, 1948, on Army Day, and then in the summer of 1948, when, under the pretext of the nationalisation of the schools, we ordered the nation-wide mobili-

sation of the police and army forces. This was only a pretext for the trial mobilisation. In reality, that was when we found out how effective the mobilisation would be in case of a putsch. That is why I formed a staff in the Ministry. I even requisitioned the trucks in the same way as we planned for the occasion of the putsch.

The President : You said that you told László Rajk your written plan.

Pálffy : Yes, in March I wanted to hand it over ; but he did not accept it for reasons of secrecy.

The President : Did you tell Rajk about its content?

Pálffy : He approved of it and said I should put it away, we would return to it. I kept it in my safe for two months and burnt it only when I learned that Rajk had been arrested.

The President : According to the plan what would have been the last thing to set the whole apparatus into motion?

Pálffy : Rankovich's approval and agreement on the day, whether in the last days of May or in the first days of June, were still missing from the plan.

The President : I did not ask to know the day, but how you would have started the whole thing?

Pálffy : The beginning of the whole thing would have been the setting into action of those three groups of ten, to arrest Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas in the evening hours.

The President : That is to say, the first step would have been the murder of Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas by the three groups under Korondy?

Pálffy : Yes.

The President : You sent Dezső Németh to Moscow in 1948, did you not?

Pálffy : Yes.

The President : You used your influence so that he should go there and receive certain special assignments? In point of time this happened round about the period when you continued your spying activities also in Moscow through Dezső Németh. Tell us about this.

Pálffy : I have to go back to the second half of 1946. At that time Brankov asked me whether it was necessary always to call upon me in connection with the handing over of frontier guard matters, or whether I could attach a reliable person to him from the frontier guard. I attached Dezső Németh to Brankov. I already knew him and was aware that he was an old fascist army officer.

The President : Did you ask Dezső Németh to provide the information and did he do this as well?

Pálffy : Yes. He did, until the spring of 1948. Earlier I wanted to send him to Belgrade to have a personal agent there.

The President : With what spying assignments did you entrust him in Moscow?

Pálffy : I in fact transmitted Žokalj's tasks. I told Žokalj that there was now an opportunity to send him to Moscow. He immediately seized upon it and stated that Németh would also have to continue his spying activities in Moscow. He could not yet give the details, only that he would establish contact with Moscow, but in any event he would be an agent of the Yugoslav legation.

I also informed Németh but I did not tell him that this came from Žokalj. He left in the second half of 1948 after Žokalj had told me, following the resolution of the Information Bureau, that now Németh's role was much more important than before, as the position of the Yugoslav legation in Moscow had become more precarious. As long as there was no resolution of the Information Bureau he could more freely act as a spy, but after the resolution they would be in a more difficult position; that was the importance of Németh working for them. Still later, in the autumn of 1948, he informed me that he now knew who would make contact with him : Mrazovich, who was, first, Yugoslav minister in Budapest and then minister in Moscow. So that I could inform him of this I called him to Budapest under the pretext of financial settlements in November, 1948. I mentioned that he should inform me by long-distance telephone from Moscow if this had occurred. This trunk call did arrive at the end of April or the beginning of May, and I knew from this that he had established contact. What he handed over to Mrazovich, what kind of anti-Soviet espionage material, I do not know, I did not talk to him about this.

The President : You mentioned before that you spoke to Korondy at the dress-rehearsal for the 1949 May Day celebrations. At that time did you also speak to Rajk?

Pálffy : No, I spoke to Rajk on May 1.

The President : In effect at the same time then?

Pálffy : Yes, during the parade when we went to the back of the tribune we spoke about the fact that now it was no longer possible to postpone the commencement of the coup d'état. Rajk then said that he would undoubtedly obtain Rankovich's approval for the end of May or the first days of June. It was urgent because — and we spoke about this with Rajk — it seemed that the lack of confidence was increasing and the signs of suspicion not only towards him, which we had sensed already for some time, but also towards me, were on the increase.

The President : László Rajk, come here.

Rajk : (comes forward to the President's platform.)

The President : Does what György Pálffy has stated conform to the truth, that he spoke to you on May 1, 1949, on the occasion of the parade, and that you then told him that you would in the near future undoubtedly obtain Rankovich's agreement to an armed rising, and that the matter could now no longer be postponed?

Rajk : It conforms with the truth inasmuch as I did tell Pálffy that I would hand over the whole plan to Rankovich for approval. It was not a question of putting the time of the putsch on the agenda. And that I said this to Pálffy, follows from my statement of yesterday.

The President : Don't start explaining now. It is not a question of explaining. You say, this is how it happened?

Rajk : Yes.

The President : But György Pálffy said that the conversation took place as he stated.

Rajk : I did not talk of the time.

The President : György Pálffy, do you uphold your statement?

Pálffy : Yes, I do.

The President : Tell him to his face.

Pálffy : I uphold it.

The President : László Rajk, go back to your place. (To Pálffy.) In the course of your connections with the Yugoslav representatives what aims were mentioned by them in the event of the success of your armed rising?

Pálffy : The political aim of our armed putsch was to cut off Hungary from the Soviet Union, to tear her out of the camp of the peoples' democracies, and in close alliance with Yugoslavia . . .

The President : Only Hungary, or was it first Hungary and then Poland?

Pálffy : The purpose of our armed putsch was to cut off Hungary, but Žokalj had already emphasized that this Hungarian item would be part of a long, systematic process.

The President : Did he mention this by the way?

Pálffy : It would be part of a systematic process. Žokalj mentioned for instance, that the next one to come would be Poland. This systematic process would be the result of the work of the United States of America with a definite aim. Politically, the main point was to carry over the country into the economic and political sphere of influence of the United States of America, and as far as home affairs were concerned to create a bourgeois dictatorship instead of the people's democracy which develops towards socialism.

The President : Was that specially mentioned?

Pálffy : Nedelkovich explained this in broad outlines.

The President : László Rajk stated yesterday that he had heard from Rankovich at the meeting in Kelebia in December, 1947, that neither Tito nor the Yugoslav Government were really anxious to establish, after the Liberation, a people's democratic system and through that, to build up socialism in Yugoslavia. All their progress which seemed to have been made in this direction was only to deceive and mislead the Yugoslav people, for the political situation in the Balkans and this part of Europe was then such that at least in appearance one had to adopt this path. Did you hear something of this sort?

Pálffy : He did not explain that to me in this form.

The President : But in essence you did hear about it?

Pálffy : I got just the same impression, for Brankov who was no private individual, but an official representative of the Yugoslav Government, and at the same time a member of the Yugoslav secret service, was already in 1945 very sharply anti-Soviet in his attitudes.

The President : Yes. Have the people's judges any questions? No. And the people's prosecutor?

The People's Prosecutor : I have a question. You stated just before that the Tito clique pursued espionage activities in the peoples' democracies. Tell me about that in detail. Do you know about this espionage?

Pálffy : I do. Lozich emphasised it too, Nedelkovich also referred to it and Žokalj said squarely that the activities they were pursuing in Hungary — and I refer not only to the intelligence work...

The People's Prosecutor : To other questions, too!

Pálffy : ...but, also, the illegal activities with planned political aims — that they were pursuing the same in all the peoples' democratic countries.

The People's Prosecutor : With a certain coordination.

Pálffy : According to a great common plan, in the Soviet Union, too.

The People's Prosecutor : To which countries did these activities of the Tito clique extend?

Pálffy : To all the peoples' democratic countries. I know this because Nedelkovich enumerated to me the countries of which it was planned that they would take part in the Balkan federation : Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia as a leading power. However, I heard Žokalj speak of Poland which would, according to the plan of the Americans, be the next country where the volte face

was to take place after Hungary. So I clearly saw that this course was planned in all the peoples' democratic countries.

The People's Prosecutor : Of course, Czechoslovakia cannot be left out between Hungary and Poland.

Pálffy : Probably not.

The People's Prosecutor : Don't you know about their pursuing similar activities there?

Pálffy : I don't remember so concretely that they had mentioned Czechoslovakia, but I had no doubt that they could not leave out this country.

The People's Prosecutor : When you met Korondy you said, if I understood you correctly, that in case of a certain resistance, it was necessary that Korondy should use arms. But their instruction was at any rate to liquidate, or as you expressed it later, to murder Deputy Prime Minister Rákosi and Ministers Farkas and Gerő. So the reference to the resistance is only a sort of disguise, is it not?

Pálffy : I considered it so. Let me now say a few words about the fact that though I did not personally know Rankovich, there were so many such instructions and views coming from him through Žokalj and Rajk that I had a clear impression about his personality, and it was clear to me that "in case of resistance" was only a bit of beautifying.

The People's Prosecutor : In fact the talk was about the fulfillment of the task.

Pálffy : In essence that he must be killed.

The People's Prosecutor : Do you know more of those special methods? On one occasion — in fact it happened in Paks — Rankovich made a remark in front of Rajk, saying that they had their own well-proved methods of doing away with people who stand by the resolution of the Information Bureau, or who are their political enemies, and that people living in Yugoslavia who in some way or other took the side of the Information Bureau's resolution, could tell a great deal — Rankovich had said significantly. Do you know anything of these methods, or do you rank the urging by Lozich among these also?

Pálffy : In this form, I had no knowledge of this. But the instruction itself which came from Rankovich belonged to this subject...

The People's Prosecutor : It belongs to this subject.

Pálffy : Yes.

The People's Prosecutor : You were head of the military political department. It is the task of this department to prevent

spying and to unmask spies. Is it true that you, in your capacity as head of this department, were also a principal spy?

Pálffy : It is true.

The People's Prosecutor : I have no other question.

The President : Has Counsel for Defence any questions?

Counsel for Defence : None.

The President : László Rajk, have you any remarks in connection with the statement of your fellow-accused?

Rajk : I have none. I agree with what he said.

The President orders a short interval.

Examination of Lazar Brankov

After the interval, Lazar Brankov, the third accused, is escorted in. Counsel for Defence László Néway asks for permission for Brankov to use his notes. The President says that there is no objection to this.

The President : (To Brankov) Did you understand the charge?

Brankov : I did.

The President : Do you plead guilty?

Brankov : I do. (After a short pause). Partly but not entirely.

The President : What was your job in the state security authority, in the so-called UDB?

Brankov : In 1945, when I came Hungary, (Brankov begins his statement in hesitating Hungarian) I came in the capacity of a member of the Yugoslav military mission. Later, in 1947, I became head of the military mission and at the end of 1947, counsellor at the legation. In Hungary, I was the chief representative of the UDB from 1947 until September 1948.

The President : Who was your immediate superior?

Brankov : My immediate superiors were Lieutenant-General Milich and Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich.

The President : Who were the Yugoslav diplomats who, by virtue of their official rank, by exploiting it, pursued spying activity, destructive work, in Hungary.

Brankov : These were the following : Since 1945, Colonel Ciemil, then head of the military mission ; Major Javorsky ; Major Kovács ; later, Mrazovich, Yugoslav Minister in Budapest ; myself ; Major Smiljanich, who later became head of the consular office ; Devecich, head of the consular office ; Counsellor Jovanovich ; Dr. Gavrilovich, the commercial attaché ; Čačinovich and Judich, the deputies of the commercial attaché, employees at the legation ; Lazar Torbica, Nikola Krek, employees at the legation. All these were engaged in intelligence work in Hungary.

The President : Or, to put it bluntly : doing spying work for Tito and Rankovich.

Brankov : Yes, that is right.

The President : When did this spying service start in Hungary? Since when did this intelligence organisation work for Tito?

Brankov : The spying service started in 1945, when the first Yugoslav military mission arrived in Hungary. The military mission was at that time sent to Hungary by Tito, the staff of the mission was organised by Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich.

The President : How did it happen that this mission was sent to Hungary?

Brankov : In 1945, the Allied Control Commission was working in Hungary and Tito asked for permission to send a Yugoslav military mission to Hungary who would be attached to the Allied Control Commission. This permission he received. The military mission then employed its members in doing spying activity in Hungary.

The President : Was it Rankovich who organised this?

Brankov : Yes, Rankovich did it.

The President : That is, he entrusted them with pursuing spying activity in Hungary? What do you know about this?

Brankov : Before the mission left Belgrade, Colonel Cicmil, then head of the military mission, received instructions from Tito in person.

The President : What kind of instructions did he receive?

Brankov : Cicmil then talked not only with Tito, but with Rankovich and Djilas as well. After their conversation, he assembled the members of the military mission and informed them of the instructions received from Tito, Rankovich and Djilas. Tito expected us to do a good job in Hungary. This was very important, as conditions in Hungary were not stable, and it was important to organise a good intelligence service. The second instruction was to establish contact in Hungary with the British and American representatives there who were working on the Allied Control Commission. The third instruction said that the members of the mission must take good care not to come, under the influence of the Soviet military mission assigned to the Allied Control Commission.

The President : The mission set up by Rankovich then arrived in Hungary. They started to carry into effect their task. What methods did they apply?

Brankov : First of all, when we came to Hungary, Colonel Cicmil assigned the tasks. Cicmil's job was to establish contact with the British and American representatives on the Allied Control Commission. Already during the war, he had established good contacts with the members of the American and British military missions who at that time were assigned to Tito's chief headquar-

ters along the Adriatic Sea. When he came to Hungary, his duty was to establish friendly terms and good connections with the British and American representatives. Major Javorsky was chief representative in Hungary of the UDB and of Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich. His duty was to organise the intelligence in Hungary, to build up a spy network covering the territory of Hungary. His duty was further to spy on the Soviet Army. Major Kovács was the one whose special concern were Soviet affairs and the Soviet Army, as he had already been dealing with these matters while assigned to Tito's general headquarters. He spoke Russian well. The duty assigned to me was to devote myself to reparations affairs and to economic questions.

The President : And what methods did you apply to carry out all this?

Brankov : The methods were that in the interest of bringing the people into the organisation, they were threatened with being exposed, then they were promised money, jobs, and also acts of violence were used, people were removed, kidnapped from Hungarian territory.

The President : As for instance, the case of Ljubitsa Hribar?

Brankov : Yes, she was taken to Yugoslavia in the car of the legation, that is to say, of the mission; with false passports she was taken across the frontier and returned to Hungarian territory the same way.

The President : Why did they do that?

Brankov : In order to compel those people to work for the Yugoslav intelligence. Such was for instance the case of Ljubitsa Hribar. She was arrested in the building of the consular office, detained there for I do not know how many days, then she was taken to Yugoslavia in the car of the Legation with a false passport, and after a week returned to Hungary again. In Belgrade, Ljubitsa Hribar was forced to sign an obligation to the effect that she would work for the Yugoslav intelligence, for the UDB. A week later she was taken back to Hungary again. This was one of the actual cases of which I have knowledge.

The President : You have just mentioned that Rankovich's agents in Hungary brought a whole host of Hungarian citizens into their espionage network by bribery and threats, especially people who held high state posts here. Give some names of Hungarians who were organised into the espionage network.

Brankov : Before answering this, I wish to tell of another actual case. This concerns a Hungarian citizen, Anton Rob, a deputy to the National Assembly, who was one of the leaders of the Yugoslav

UDB here in Hungary. When the Hungarian authorities wanted to arrest him, we took him illegally, with a false passport, in a legation car, across the Hungarian-Yugoslav frontier to Yugoslavia. The way this happened was that when we had learnt from the Minister of Home Affairs Rajk, who was an agent of the Yugoslav intelligence, and from András Szalai who was also an agent, that Rob was to be arrested, Rankovich gave instructions to remove Rob at all costs, and as soon as possible, to Yugoslavia, in order to prevent his arrest. Then I gave orders to Blasich to organise this. Minister Mrazovich too had knowledge of this. Blasich made out a false passport and with it Rob crossed the frontier to Yugoslavia.

The President : What other Hungarian citizens did you bring into the organisation? Who became members of your spy organisation?

Brankov : First of all, the principal affair for us was Rajk, the Minister of Home Affairs, and later Minister of Foreign Affairs. Then came as second, Lieutenant-General György Pálffy, Deputy Minister of Defence. Then András Szalai.

The President (interrupting him) : Will you perhaps tell us also who brought these into the organisation?

Brankov : Rajk was brought into the organisation by the Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich in person. Szalai, by Major Smiljanich. Justus, who was a Yugoslav agent as well, was brought into the organisation by Major Javorsky. Ognjenovich was brought into the organisation by the Secretary to the Legation, Blasich. All these diplomats were agents of the UDB and...

The President (interrupting him) : And Zoltán Horváth? Can you remember him?

Brankov : Zoltán Horváth was also an important agent of the Yugoslav intelligence. He was brought into the organisation by Major Javorsky. Later, it was Deputy Commercial Attaché Čačinovich who maintained contact with Zoltán Horváth...

The President : Who else?

Brankov (reflecting) : Ljubitsa Hribar, I have already mentioned.

The President : Yes, you have already mentioned her. Do you remember the name of Endre Szebenyi?

Brankov : Yes, I remember. Endre Szebenyi, Under-secretary of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs, was also an important agent of ours. We brought him in with the aid of Minister Rajk... Then there is Sándor Cseresnyés, who was head of the press department in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The President : Can you recall the name of Ottó Horváth-Königsberg?

Brankov : Lieutenant-Colonel of the Police Ottó Horváth-Königsberg was brought in by Major Javorsky, I think as early as 1945 or 1946. He worked likewise for the UDB. Then Eduard Karagich, who worked in the Democratic Federation of the South Slavs of Hungary in the staff of the organisation; Milán Ognjenovich, who was the organising secretary of the Federation of the South Slavs of Hungary. He, too, was brought in by Secretary of the Legation Blazovich.

The President : Do you remember József Hegedüs?

Brankov : Yes, József Hegedüs was already brought into the organisation in 1944, in Yugoslavia, from where he was sent to Hungary. Here he established connections with Major Javorsky and from then on worked continuously for the UDB. He was a captain of the police, or rather at first he worked in the Communist Party and then he became a captain of the police; later he was active in the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society. And then, Mária Vidakovich, who also worked in the Federation of the South Slavs of Hungary as an officer in the organisation.

The President : Do you remember the names of József Rex and Ferenc Gondi? I enumerate these names from your deposition; of course, you may not remember them easily in order.

Brankov : But I do remember. In the Ministry of Foreign Affairs our agents were József Rex and Ferenc Gondi, the deputy chief of the protocol department.

The President : Well then, to help you remember, perhaps Anton Rob himself was your agent, too?

Brankov : Rob was brought in by Javorsky in 1945. Rob was a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party during the war in Yugoslavia and he was expelled from the Party because of provocative activities. He came to Hungary in 1941, and remained here. He became a Hungarian citizen and in 1945 he made the acquaintance of Major Javorsky, who was then the chief representative of the UDB in Hungary. Rankovich, who knew Rob's case, permitted Javorsky to bring in Rob and said that if he would work well then he would rehabilitate him with Tito. Since that time, Rob worked continuously as an important agent of the UDB. He directed a separate spy ring and was in direct contact with Rankovich.

The President : All these names will do. Probably you could add quite a few. Now let us go back to the details of the bringing in of a few of the more significant agents from among them. How

was Rajk made part of the organisation? You said that Rankovich himself made him join, didn't you? How?

Brankov : We had connections with Rajk as early as 1946 and these connections were very friendly. I and Major Javorsky and Colonel Cicmil often met Rajk and spoke with him. We knew already at that time of Rajk's nationalist attitude and of his ambition for personal power in Hungary. That was what he wanted. We knew that his relations with Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő were not good and we spoke with him openly. He always acted in a friendly way and there was no secret he would not mention before us, no question or demand on our part which he would not have fulfilled at that time. But he was formally brought in by Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich. Rankovich received data from the Americans or the British which showed that Rajk — I think in 1931 — was an informer of the Hungarian Horthy police. On the basis of this, Rankovich recruited Rajk. They told me this much at that time.

The President : What do you mean by "on the basis of this"? Was he threatened that otherwise this document would be made public?

Brankov : Yes. He was threatened that otherwise he would be exposed.

The President : How do you know that?

Brankov : From Minister Mrazovich. Mrazovich told me of this.

The President : How was Pálffy brought in?

Brankov : György Pálffy was not difficult to bring into the organisation, for it was obvious at our first meeting that he was a nationalist and Tito's nationalist line had a special appeal for him even at that time. He made friends very fast with the members of the Military Mission of that time, with Colonel Cicmil, Javorsky and me. I met him frequently and he readily gave me all sorts of material from the Ministry of Defence. In 1946 he was the head of the military political department. Formally he was brought in by Colonel Lozich, who was military attaché here in Budapest. From that time onwards he worked continuously as a Yugoslav agent.

The President : Can you give any details on the recruiting of András Szalai?

Brankov : András Szalai was recruited by Major Smiljanich who had known that Szalai, in March 1944, in Sátoraljaujhely, where seventy political prisoners — Yugoslav and Hungarian communists — had prepared a gaol break, betrayed the plan. Smiljanich found this out and used it to threaten Szalai, who was brought in on the basis of this. From that time on he was an important agent of the Yugoslav intelligence service.

The President : So, Tito and his clique in this case were in alliance with a person of whom they knew that he had the blood of Yugoslav patriots, communists, on his hands.

Brankov : Yes.

The President : Such a person was a confederate of Tito and his clique?

Brankov : Yes.

The President : How was Justus brought in?

Brankov : Major Javorsky found out in 1945 or 1946 — I don't remember the exact date — through his spy ring, that Pál Justus, who was then a member of the central committee of the Social Democratic Party, was also the leader of the Hungarian Trotskyists. Then the Yugoslav intelligence service succeeded in getting some information in France which showed that Pál Justus had been an informer of the Horthy police before the war : at the Hungarian Legation he was in contact with the representative of the Horthy police. On the basis of these facts they made Justus join the organisation. His role was so important that, for instance, connection with him was kept up not through the Yugoslav agents who were at the Legation, but Rankovich established special contact with him and he sent material to Justus, to Budapest, directly from Belgrade by special couriers.

The President : Does it not strike you that Rajk was a police spy, Szalai was a police spy, Justus was a police spy? Did you specialise on fascist police spies?

Brankov : I have already told you that in 1945 Rankovich gave me the following instructions : it is important that we should build up a good intelligence service, a network in Hungary, it does not matter by what methods. Naturally, on the basis of these instructions we did not care whether they were police spies or not.

The President : You said it was important to build up a good spy network. Was this spy network really good then? What were the things you succeeded in finding out? What did you spy out?

Brankov (hesitatingly) : Well, in my opinion, this was an extensive espionage network which was able to infiltrate into almost every social and political organisation in the machinery of the state.

The President : And what sort of material did you get through this network? Political, economic and military secrets, or what?

Brankov : Political, economic and military secrets.

The President : Enumerate some, for example.

Brankov : From Pálffy, we got everything from the Ministry of Defence, the most secret military material, for instance, on the dispositions of the Hungarian Army. This was the most confidential

data. Then I remember that we obtained a secret map of Hungary which was regarded as a great military secret. Then we got data on the dispositions of the frontier guard, which was very important. From the Ministry of Home Affairs, from Rajk and Szebenyi, on the work and methods of the State Defence Department, on the fight of the State Defence Department against the Anglo-American intelligence services here on the territory of Hungary, which was also very important. Then I remember definitely, we also got the material on the Ferenc Nagy conspiracy. This was given on Rajk's instructions by Szebenyi, and I remember well that Cicmil sent this early in 1947 to the American Legation, as he had established connections with British and American representatives.

The President : Did he send it to that General Edgecumbe?

Brankov : Yes. But he is not American but British.

The President : Yes. Did he send it to that General?

Brankov : Yes, on the Ferenc Nagy conspiracy, for the Americans.

The President : Then I did not get it right.

Brankov : I remember that Nina Spasojovich, Cicmil's private secretary, carried the material.

The President : But since we have mentioned this British General, tell me, didn't you send him anything?

Brankov : I understand that, starting in 1945, Cicmil was already exchanging the most important information with General Edgecumbe, and I know that Lieutenant Popovich who was adjutant to Cicmil, took the actual data in a sealed envelope to General Edgecumbe. I did not see what was in it. But on another occasion I found out that it was a matter of important secret data which the Yugoslav intelligence service succeeded in collecting in Hungary; he selected this from that material and sent it to General Edgecumbe.

Now I recall a conversation between Cicmil, Javorsky and me. All of a sudden he strongly impressed on us that he had to collect material on the political and economic situation in Hungary. I was busy with other affairs and I did not have time to do what he demanded, the preparation of an economic report, and I asked him why it was so urgent. Then he said that he had instructions from Kardelj, the Deputy Prime Minister, that the material had to be exchanged with General Edgecumbe and therefore this was important for him. Edgecumbe already knew of this, he said, and hurried him twice. At that time I was surprised at this and I spoke with Javorsky, who was the chief resident of the UDB about it; Javorsky confirmed this statement of Cicmil's and said that he had the same

instructions from Rankovich, namely, to co-operate with the British and the Americans, to keep up good connections with them and to exchange the material.

The President : In addition to this, what co-operation in Hungary do you know of, between your intelligence service and the Anglo-American intelligence service operating here? Or, in brief, what else can you say about how the Yugoslav and British intelligence organisations worked in Hungary?

Brankov : I know of a concrete case, which occurred as early as 1945, when with the aid of Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich, the Americans succeeded in sending a spy ring from Switzerland to the territory of Hungary. At that time this spy group was transferred, with the aid of Rankovich, into the rear of the Soviet Army.

The President : Was this the Szőnyi spy group?

Brankov : Yes, this was the Szőnyi spy group. This happened thus: that even during the war, with Tito's permission, Rankovich, Kardelj and Djilas's men established contact with the American and British intelligence services, not only on Yugoslav territory, which happened in 1944, but abroad as well. With Tito's permission they sent some representatives to Switzerland, France, Italy and Britain, who established connections with the Anglo-American intelligence services. Thus, with the help of Tito's and Rankovich's representatives, the Americans succeeded in sending this spy group of Szőnyi's to Hungary, to throw them behind the Soviet lines. This I know definitely, because in 1947-48, when I was chief UDB representative, I had occasion *ex officio* to look at the secret files and documents of the UDB, and then I talked with Colonel Cicmil who co-operated in this. Allan Dulles, in Switzerland, was the head of American intelligence in Europe, the OSS. The representative of Tito and Rankovich, called Miša Lompar, who was then in Switzerland, established good contacts with him and co-operated with him. Then Allan Dulles sent this spy ring into Hungary with Lompar's help through Yugoslavia. They went through France, to Marseilles, where Latinovich, another agent of Tito and Rankovich was working. Latinovich was Tito's consul in Marseilles, where he established good connections with the British and American intelligence and was able to get an American military plane. With this American plane they brought this spy ring to Belgrade. On Rankovich's instructions they gave them Yugoslav documents. They were sent by car to Hungarian territory as Yugoslav officers, and were thrown behind the lines of the Soviet Army, where they spied for the Americans in the territory of Hungary, on the Soviet Army.

The President : Don't you remember anything else about this

co-operation? Do you remember that when you were in Belgrade in October, 1948, there was a conference?

Brankov : That was later.

The President : Yes, later, but this is also related to the question of the co-operation with the Anglo-American network. That is what I asked. You received the first orders . . .

Brankov : Yes, I remember, that was in September.

The President : You received the first orders when the Military Mission, led by Cicmil, arrived here to keep close contact with the Anglo-American network. You got additional instructions in October, 1948, in Belgrade.

Brankov : Yes.

The President : Say something about this.

Brankov : When Colonel Cicmil was recalled from Hungary — he is now Minister in London — then these connections with the Anglo-Americans stopped. I think they stopped because they were afraid that these connections would be made known in Hungary and then they considered it wiser to keep up these connections through Belgrade. But in 1948, after the resolution of the Information Bureau, the situation became more tense and Rankovich gave instructions again — this was in September 1948 — that connections had to be re-established on Hungarian territory — with the Anglo-American intelligence. In October, 1948, when I was in Belgrade, Rankovich said that the situation was such as . . .

The President : Was Djilas there then, too?

Brankov : At this talk Djilas was also present. He had just talked with Tito, who had conferred with the American and British representatives in Belgrade and agreed with them that they would be willing to render aid to Tito's government, not only economic, but also political, and moreover, military aid, when Tito's government is willing to fight against the Soviet Union. Djilas said that things were such that we would have to accept this situation, as the Americans and the British had become our natural allies. Then Rankovich added that this co-operation was already concretely under way in other countries, and not only in the peoples' democracies but also in those countries where there are Communist Parties, and this must be done in the same way in Hungary too.

The President : Tell us about this.

Brankov : We, too, must take up the contacts. This was very important, for the British and the Americans had all means of publicity, press and radio, and they must be given the material prepared in Belgrade, the propaganda material and other material which they considered it right to transmit. We must fight against

the Hungarian government, which stands by the Information Bureau, together with the British and Americans and we have to fight against the other peoples' democracies, and the Soviet Union as well.

The President : Did Rankovich not say anything else about how you should establish connections with the British and the Americans in Budapest? Directly?

Brankov : They did not consider it wise that it should be the members of the Legation directly who would establish contact with the British and Americans, because he considered this dangerous and therefore was of the opinion that a few agents had to be picked who were in Hungary and who were suitable for establishing connections with the British and Americans. One of our important agents went to Belgrade illegally for this purpose; where he received instructions in what way he should co-operate and take up connections with the Americans and the British here in Hungary.

The President : Two new men too, came from Belgrade, to direct these agents?

Brankov : Rankovich was not satisfied with the work in Budapest, especially in this field, and he announced that he would send agents for this purpose who would establish these contacts.

The President : Whom did he send?

Brankov : Dusan Devečich, who became chief of the consular department of the legation, and counsellor Jovanovich.

I know for a fact that they then renewed their contacts and remember that Devečich got in touch with Hilton, the American commercial attaché in Budapest, later with Pettitt, British vice-consul, also with Captain Marty, the Budapest representative of the Trizonia bureau and Lieutenant-Colonel Kopcsak who was the American deputy military attaché in Budapest. They handed over that propaganda material which was in English, Hungarian, French, and German.

The President : What was the conduct of the present leaders of Yugoslavia towards the Yugoslav peoples during the second world war?

Brankov : About this I can say that the conduct of Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovich towards the international working-class movement, the Yugoslav peoples and the Soviet Union did not begin after, or at the time of, the resolution of the Information Bureau, but much earlier. Already during the war, it may have been in 1944 or even at the end of 1943, Tito gave permission for British and American military missions to come to his General Headquarters on Yugoslav territory.

The President : Moreover, not only to his General Headquarters but after that they could also go to the subsidiary headquarters?

Brankov : They first came to the General Headquarters then they were despatched to the provincial headquarters.

The President : And who were these people? You recall the names?

Brankov : I remember the names because during the war Rankovich issued general instructions, when these members of the British and American military missions arrived on Yugoslav territory, which said that such and such Anglo-American officers have arrived, they were allies, all help has to be given to them and they had to be given a friendly reception. This directive was sent to all provincial general staffs and we had to learn these names so that if, for instance, they came to the territory where we were, we should know who they are. When later, in 1947 and 1948, I had an opportunity to look over the secret archives, I also read these names and therefore remember them well.

The President : All right then, we shall wait a little with these. Now tell us who were the Anglo-American military representatives who arrived at Tito's General Headquarters and at the provincial headquarters from 1943 onwards.

Brankov : Yes.

The President : If you recall them please list them.

Brankov : Who were there at the end 1943, the beginning of 1944?

The President : Yes.

Brankov : Colonel Hamilton, Lieutenant-Colonels Fire and Farish of the American military mission were there at Tito's supreme command. The members of the British mission were General Maclean, Lieutenant-Colonels Salwin and Moore, also Major Randolph Churchill, Winston Churchill's son. These Anglo-American officers were at Tito's General Headquarters. Then in the same way there were also Anglo-American military representatives at the provincial staff headquarters. There was the British Major Kenney in Macedonia and the British Lieut. MacDonald. In Vojvodina there was Major Davidson and Lieut. Wood, British officers, Major Wilson in Bosnia, a British officer. The American Captain Green, Majors Armstrong and Henniker-Major, British, at the General Headquarters in Serbia. Captain Reid, an American officer and Rogers, a British major, in Croatia. An American major, James Goodwin and a British major, Johnson were with the Slovenian command. Major Urban, an American officer, was on the island of Vis.

These were the members of the Anglo-American military missions in Yugoslavia during the war with Tito's General Headquarters or at the provincial general staffs.

The President : And you remember these so well? Because I see that so far you have not used your notes at all, and you also mentioned these many names entirely from memory.

Brankov : Yes. I remember then well because we had to know them by heart during the war, who they were, so that if we met them . .

The President : You could be of service to them.

Brankov : . . . so that we could give them all help on the orders of Rankovich, because these orders said that they came on to Yugoslav territory as allies.

But I know them also because I saw the documents in 1947 and 1948 in Belgrade at the UDB. There was a lot of material there about these members of the Anglo-American missions being experienced intelligence officers and that they carried out a great deal of spying work during the war on Yugoslav territory. That is why I remember these names well . . .

The President (interrupting) : What was the idea of the Anglo-Saxons in placing these intelligence officers at the headquarters. Can you say something about this?

Brankov : Well, they thought that first of all there was a well-constructed plan which the British and Americans had worked out with Churchill, still during the war. According to this plan, as is usually the case, they did not want to (*he thinks about the expression to use*) place the Balkans under their influence at the cost of the blood of Anglo-American soldiers, but wanted to achieve this through these experienced intelligence officers and they wanted in this way to place under their influence the Yugoslav leaders of those days.

The President : For what purpose did they want to exert their influence? To extend their rule over the Yugoslav peoples too, after the war?

Brankov : While the war was still on they were trying to subjugate Yugoslavia, and then the neighbouring states, Bulgaria, Rumania and Hungary, to Anglo-American influence and their primary aim was to restrict the influence of the Soviet Union, to decrease this influence, because they knew very well that the overwhelming part of the great majority of the Yugoslav people stood by the side of the Soviet Union and love the Soviet people. At that time they planned first to win over Tito, Kardelj, Rankovich, Djilas and through them Yugoslavia, through the members of the

military missions, to place the Yugoslav people under their influence and place Yugoslavia in a colonial or semi-colonial position.

The President : From where do you know all this?

Brankov : I know about this because I spoke about it often.

The President : With whom?

Brankov : With Colonel Cicmil who was very well informed about these plans because during the war he was Tito's representative in the Adriatic province and there was in permanent contact with them. There he was host to the American and British officers. He was well acquainted with these plans because he spoke with them often. When I met Cicmil after the war he spoke often about it. I then spoke about this with the Vojvodina army commander, Orovič . . .

The President : Sava Orovič!

Brankov : . . . General Sava Orovič who was equally well informed on this question. I then also spoke about this question about Djilas in an intimate circle.

The President (correcting him) : With Djilas!

Brankov : . . . Yes, with Djilas; and through these discussions it became clear to me that such a plan exists and in what manner they want to realise the plan.

The President then ordered a short recess and after the recess re-opened the trial.

The President : In practice what do you know about what influence the Anglo-American representatives at Tito's supreme headquarters exercised on Tito during the world war? Could you tell us something about this?

Brankov : During the war these Anglo-American army officers exercised a great influence, a harmful influence, on Tito and on his General Headquarters. They especially exercised their influence on Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovich. Cicmil spoke to me a lot about this and I remember that there were three concrete events from which the Anglo-American political efforts in the Balkans during the war can be seen. One, in 1944, when German parachutists were dropped in Yugoslavia near Drvar where Tito and the supreme command were situated. Then Tito and his staff were in a very difficult position and it is certain that it would not have been possible then to save Tito or his staff if the Soviet aeroplanes did not arrive in time. These came to Drvar which was under German fire, flew into the surrounded area, saved Tito and the whole command and took them to Bari.

At that time the Anglo-Americans, especially the British General Maclean and Randolph Churchill, Churchill's son, succeeded

in persuading Kardelj, Rankovich and Djilas, to bring Tito to the Island of Vis in a British warship. The idea was that in this way he would be better able to keep Tito and his staff under his influence. Tito, urged by Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovich, agreed then with this. But at the last moment the Soviet Supreme Command intervened and so this plan failed. — I remember that Djilas complained then in an intimate company against the Soviet Command, that the Soviet Command has intervened already several times and made some good plans which were worked out by Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovich impossible and a failure. The other case was — and this was more Churchill's plan — that the Anglo-Americans should during the war occupy the coast of the Adriatic Sea. This was no longer necessary, because the coast was already mainly liberated by the partisans and was in their hands. But for Churchill it was necessary then to extend his influence upon Yugoslavia and the neighbouring countries. At that time, too, Maclean succeeded in gaining Rankovich, Djilas and Kardelj for this plan. There was a great argument in the general staff, Tito agreed with that again, for he thought that Yugoslavia would, at any rate, be liberated by the British. This is — as he has said — the national interest of Yugoslavia and this is why we should have good relations with the British and Americans. There was an argument on this question in the high staff at that time, too. The Soviet Command had another opinion on this question and gave Tito advice, so that he retreated and thus Churchill's plan to invade the Balkans and the Adriatic coast became a failure during the war.

There was a third case at the end of the war, which happened in 1944, when the question was to liberate Serbia and the capital, Belgrade. The situation was that Tito and the Yugoslav Army were unable at that time to liberate Belgrade and Serbia quickly and Tito wanted to ask for help. But the military advisers of the British and the Americans, Maclean and Colonel Hamilton wanted to assure through Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovich, at any rate that Tito should by no means ask for help from the Soviet Army, which was already very near in Bulgaria and Rumania. There was a great argument because of this. Tito hesitated, but when he realised that he could not liberate Belgrade and Serbia with his own forces, he asked for help from the Soviet Government. The Soviet Army, in fact, liberated Serbia and Belgrade then.

The President : You mentioned before that the ostensible Anglo-American military emissaries carried on intelligence activities within the general staff and the provincial staffs. But to carry out these intelligence activities, they needed to organise certain

people to get information for them. Who were the people they succeeded in organising?

Brankov : They were experienced intelligence men and they succeeded then in influencing or even organising many Yugoslav officers and leaders.

The President : Could you mention the names?

Brankov : Cicmil told me that especially Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovich were those whom the Anglo-Americans had succeeded in organising for their service already during the war. But in 1947 and 1948, when I became the chief UDB representative, I had the opportunity to have a look at the secret archives of the UDB and there I saw that there are many people among the Yugoslav leaders and officers who are quoted as having relations both during the war and after with the Anglo-American intelligence service. I can remember them because I knew them or there had been talk of them, and I know that many of them are in important jobs in the Tito Government and in the state apparatus as well. For example, I remember that in the Croatian general staff, the following friends of the Anglo-Americans are marked : Marko Belinich, the present minister of the Croatian Government . . .

The President : What did you say? Belinich?

Brankov : Yes, Belinich, Marko Belinich; then Karlo Mrazovich, the present ambassador to Moscow; in Serbia Petar Stambolich, who is the present prime minister of the Serbian Government; in Bosnia, Avdo Humo, secretary of the Central Committee of the Bosnian Communist Party; in the Macedonian general staff, Lieutenant-General Mihailov Apostolovich and Lieutenant-General Svetozar Vukmanovich; in the general staff of the Vojvodina . . .

The President : (*interrupting him*) : Who is that Vukmanovich?

Brankov : Vukmanovich is now a minister of the Yugoslav Central Government. Then, in the general staff of the Vojvodina, General Orovich, Jovan Veselinov, the Secretary of the Vojvodina Central Party Committee and Jojkich, a member of this Committee.

The President : The same Jojkich who was later sent here?

Brankov : Yes, the same. Then at the general staff of Slovenia, Miha Marinko, who is now the prime minister of the Slovenian Government, Kidrich, who is now minister of industry of the central government and secretary of the supreme Economic Council . . . no, not the secretary, the president . . . (*thinking*) : Then Franc Leskosek, who is now a minister of the present Yugoslav Central government. There were even more, but I don't remember them precisely any more. For me it was very striking, at that time. I was surprised how people suspected to be agents of the Anglo-American intelligence

service could be in such high positions in Yugoslavia. I asked this question during a conversation with Lieutenant-General Milich, the head of the UDB foreign service. He answered me that I did not understand these things well because it is so, that these people had good relations during the war with members of the Anglo-American Mission and because of these relations they rendered great services to the interests of Yugoslavia. And today, the British and the Americans could be friends of the Yugoslav people. One must not think that these people who now have good relations with the British and Americans, are harmful and hostile to Yugoslavia. I have spoken about this with Javorsky, too, who is also in a high position in the UDB. He already spoke about this question in detail and told me that Rankovich also knew about it. There are people in the UDB who do not agree with that, but they do not dare to speak about it because all this happens according to instructions from above, for Rankovich and other leaders know about it, too. Once I have spoken about it with Milich, too, but I also noticed during the war that in fact, a struggle was fought within the Yugoslav Party and Army. Even during the war, an argument took place between the men of Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovich and the colonel-generals Žujovich, Hebrang and Colonel-General Jovanovich, who were the leaders of the partisan general staff during the war. When later, I once spoke to Javorsky — it happened already at the time of the resolution of the Information Bureau — he told me about his opinion, according to which the whole material on account of which Žujovich and Hebrang were arrested was not authentic because the real reasons were the reasons which were already there during the war, for the struggle with Žujovich and Hebrang was already in progress then. They represented another political direction and did not by any means agree with this fraternisation with the Anglo-American intelligence service, the Anglo-American policy.

They were not willing to collaborate. — Especially Rankovich was important there, because he was the organisation secretary and he led the cadres department and later the intelligence service, the counter-intelligence. The whole Party apparatus was in his hands and he succeeded in putting his men everywhere. He succeeded in removing all those who did not agree with the line followed during the war by Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovich, especially the collaboration, and they spoke of them to the Party members as left-wing deviationists. And, for example, it also happened — the partisans spoke very much about this already in 1944 — that these people who were considered leftists and who were the followers of the Soviet Union and who were not willing to collaborate closely

with the Anglo-Americans — were sent during the war to places where it was sure that they would fall.

The President : Do you know something about Tito and his company having sent Yugoslav intelligence people, agents, abroad to strengthen intelligence relations with the Anglo-Saxons?

Brankov : Yes. I think I already mentioned the question before. On the proposal made by Rankovich, Kardelj and Djilas, Tito agreed to send his agents abroad already during the war in order that they should enter into contact with the Anglo-American intelligence service as had already taken place on Yugoslav territory. I know that such an agent was sent to Switzerland, this was Mihailov or Miša Lompar; then Latinovich to France, to Marseilles...

The President : Say something about this Lompar, who was he and what was his task?

Brankov : Lompar's task was to collaborate in the closest possible way with the Anglo-American intelligence service there. He was connected to Allan Dulles, the head of the American Office of Strategic Services, who was in Switzerland. Miša Lompar established contacts there with the Trotskyists and collaborated, on Rankovich's instructions, with the Americans in Switzerland. In France, in Marseilles, it was Latinovich who also established close contacts with the American intelligence service there. Then in Bari, in Italy, Vaso Jovanovich, another personal representative of Rankovich also had close contact with the Anglo-American intelligence service. General Velebit, who was known as an organised British agent, was in London. General Velebit was Tito's representative and handed over all the material the Yugoslav intelligence service collected during the war to the British. This contained material about the Soviet Army, too. There are data about that in the UDB archives. These were the people who closely collaborated abroad, on Tito's instructions, with the Anglo-Americans.

The President : What positions do these people have now? Are they still influential people?

Brankov : Well, Velebit was, for example, in a high position after the war, he was the first deputy to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Miša Lompar is first counsellor at the Bucharest legation, Latinovich is minister to Switzerland. These all have high positions. Vaso Jovanovich also has a high position in the UDB. He was in Budapest, too, in the capacity of counsellor to the Legation and was expelled in October, 1948, by the Hungarian authorities.

The President : What is Obrad Cicmil now?

Brankov : ... They have sent him to London as Minister.

I remember that Popovich praised Cicmil very much in October, 1948, saying that he worked very well in London.

The President : Now after the World War what did Tito and his companions, his close collaborators Rankovich, Kardelj and Djilas; conceive for Hungary and in relation to the other neighbouring countries?

Brankov : Tito, Kardelj, Rankovich and Djilas thought that Yugoslavia had a peculiar strategic position in the Balkans, and that Yugoslavia must play an important role in the Balkans and Central Europe. About their plans concerning the other countries I can give much fewer details and concrete data. But as for Hungary I can tell much more since, on the instructions of the Yugoslav government, I took part in the realisation of these plans.

The President : What were these plans with regard to Hungary?

Brankov : Plans of this sort existed in 1945, but not everybody had knowledge of these plans as they were kept in utmost secrecy. Tito, Kardelj, Rankovich and Djilas, that is, only a very narrow circle, knew of them. They were keeping them secret even from the other members of the Government, and from the other members of the Central Committee of the Party.

The President : Now tell us what it was all about.

Brankov : The gist of this plan was that Yugoslavia should become a central, a leading state in the Balkans and in Central Europe and that Yugoslavia should organise a Balkan and Central, European bloc which would become an organisation of bourgeois democratic Balkan republics with an orientation towards the West rather than towards the Soviet Union.

The President : All right, we shall come to this later. This plan which you have just outlined in principle, was aimed at the creation of a Balkan federation of states organised on a bourgeois democratic basis, that is, opposing socialist development. They did not want Socialist development?

Brankov : They wanted a bourgeois democratic state.

The President : They wanted a bourgeois democratic state. Who instigated this plan? Do you know anything of that? Was it conceived in the brains of Tito and his companions?

Brankov : They were eager to arouse the impression that the plan had been conceived by Tito and they began to explain to the Party members and the people that it was something entirely new in Marxism by which Tito had enriched Marxist ideology and its historic development. This is how they wanted to make it appear to the Party members and the Yugoslav nation. However, as we know what the Anglo-American plans in the Balkans and in Central

Europe were, and what connections existed between Tito, Kardelj, Rankovich and Djilas on the one hand, and the American Intelligence on the other, it was obvious that it was not Tito, Kardelj, Rankovich and Djilas who had concocted this scheme, but that they were merely the instruments for carrying out a scheme devised by somebody else. The real inspirers during the war were General Maclean, Randolph Churchill...

The President : You have already said this. Did you hear anybody saying explicitly that it originated from the Americans?

Brankov : I spoke about that with Cicmil.

The President : With no one else?

Brankov : I also spoke with the others, once for instance with Djilas...

The President : So Djilas also told you that the Anglo-Americans stood behind these schemes? Was that so?

Brankov : He did not want to put it so openly, but it was obvious...

The President : You were not in doubt about this for a minute, then?

Brankov : When I talked with Djilas and later with Cicmil, and afterwards, when I saw what were the instructions they had for Hungary, what was the character of these instructions, and how they were carrying them out, it began to dawn upon me that only this could be the case here, and nothing else.

The President : Right. Now, previously, you spoke in a rather detailed way of the spy organisation and the spy net established in Hungary by Tito and his clique. With regard to this scheme, what were the aims of this spying service and spy organisation? Do you understand my question? Was this spying service, also, aiming at the promotion of this bourgeois democratic federation?

Brankov : The principal task of this spying net was to popularise Tito and Tito's policy here in Hungary, and to win over the Hungarian political leaders and the Hungarian nation to these plans.

The President : And to become acquainted with Hungarian state secrets? They wanted that, too?

Brankov : Of course, they wanted that too.

The president : To what end?

Brankov : Because, for these plans it was also necessary to know thoroughly the conditions in Hungary and its leaders. Then they would be able to organise the fight against those who might want to oppose such a plan, the one Tito's government wanted to realise in Hungary.

The President : Right. You are saying then, that the task of the spying service which you had so thoroughly organised in Hungary, was to facilitate, to promote, the establishment of a Balkan federation?

Brankov : Yes, that is right.

The President : So it was only a part...

Brankov : Of those...

The President : A part of what?

Brankov : Part of this scheme.

The President : You mentioned before that not only Hungary but all the peoples' democracies were threatened by that plan.

Brankov : Yes.

The President : Do you know anything of its details? Have you heard of it?

Brankov : I know of it, but it dates from somewhat later, from 1948.

The President : It does not matter, tell us something about it.

Brankov : They wanted to achieve in the other neighbouring states exactly the same thing as in Hungary. When Rankovich used to give me instructions concerning Hungary, it was his custom to mention the conditions prevailing in other countries, saying that there the work was done better or worse. This was a means of stimulating the work in Hungary. From this I learnt that such plans were also in existence with regard to other peoples' democracies.

The President : And what is more, you say they were working for the achievement of exactly the same goals?

Brankov : Yes, Rankovich mentioned that such a plan existed for Rumania, but it could not quite succeed there. He mentioned Patrascanu, then Minister of Justice, who was also following the Tito line and wanted to carry out Tito's plans in Rumania, but the Central Committee of the Rumanian Party removed him in time and isolated him from the Party. Rankovich told me that work would have to be continued there, too. I know for certain that this was the job of the Counsellor of the Legation, Zec Ranko, and that later Mihajlo Lompar was sent there. During the war he was Tito's representative in Switzerland. He told me that these two were in Bucharest and they were engaged in similar schemes. I can recall the case of Gomulka in Poland. They were attaching great hopes to it; they hoped Gomulka would carry out Tito's plans in Poland, and they were awaiting developments. I can also remember that they did not want to act so directly, did not want to take such an active part, for they expected Gomulka would succeed in carrying

out this action in the Polish Communist Party. But, as is known, Gomulka did not carry it out, and admitted that this was a wrong line. Once Rankovich even complained that they must start afresh in Poland. At that time, a Counsellor of the Legation by the name of Sribislava Kovačevich, working in Poland, was dealing with this plan. He was later recalled and Ivan Rukavina who is now in Poland, was sent out as counsellor to the legation. I cannot say anything more in connection with Poland.

There was also a case in Bulgaria. I cannot remember that anybody mentioned a definite person. The question was only that there, too, they should do everything to carry out this plan. There was a very serious attempt in Albania to overthrow the Albanian government, but this was frustrated. Josip Djerdja and Savo Zlatich worked on this plan there.

The President : Did you hear everything that you have told us now directly from Rankovich or Djilas?

Brankov : The greater part from Rankovich, then from Djilas and Lieutenant-General Milich who is also well-versed in these matters. When they gave instructions they always made some comparisons.

The President : Now let us summarise your statement on this question. You admitted that the aim and purpose of the Anglo-Americans was to rally the states around Yugoslavia, under the leadership of Yugoslavia, into a confederation of states with bourgeois-democratic regimes, and to achieve this purpose the Anglo-American circles used the Yugoslav government. This is the essence of your statement?

Brankov : Yes.

The President : That is, that the Tito-led Yugoslav government was an instrument for the Anglo-Americans in their endeavours.

Brankov : Yes, that is clear.

The President : You started to speak about it earlier, but let us now pass on to consider in detail how the Tito government, as an instrument in the Anglo-American endeavours, tried to achieve this aim as far as Hungary was concerned, and here in Hungary how and with what means. Speak about this in detail.

Brankov : In the first period, before the resolution of the Information Bureau, they tried to carry out this plan by peaceful means. After the resolution of the Information Bureau they tried by other means because they realised that the thing would not succeed by peaceful means. So, naturally, the Yugoslav intelligence service, already well established in Hungary, had a great part to play.

The President : Perhaps you should begin to speak about your own activities, about what instructions you received from Tito, Rankovich, and Djilas, or in general from the higher Yugoslav leadership, and how you carried these out. Perhaps we should begin with this.

Brankov : That something was being prepared along this line, I found out first in May, 1947, when Rankovich called me to Belgrade. But I should say here that when I came to Hungary in 1945 there was already some mention of the Hungarian situation not being stable...

The President : Therefore you did not only find out in 1947 — and I wanted to correct you but waited for you to reach the end of your sentence — but knew about it when you came here with the military mission, and it took on a clearer picture as time passed?

Brankov : Yes. Then Rankovich told me openly in 1947 that in Hungary such a position and such a political line was prevailing, which was directed against the interests of Yugoslavia. That is, the Hungarian government should follow another policy.

The President : Let us not say that it was against the interests of Yugoslavia, but such a direction prevailed which was antagonistic to the purposes of the Tito clique. Perhaps this way it is more correct?

Brankov : I wanted to put it this way. He told me that we had to find out through our network what suitable people there were in Hungary which had to be won for the policy of the Yugoslav government. He mentioned Anton Rob who had a well-organised network in Hungary. He told me I had to make contact with Anton Rob, who at that time was a Member of Parliament and the General Secretary of the Democratic Federation of the South Slavs of Hungary.

The President : Let us perhaps not begin with Anton Rob but with the most important people, because you said you had to look around to find out who among the leading people in Hungary were willing to serve the orders and aims of the Yugoslav government.

Brankov : Yes. Then he mentioned...

The President : Speak about the most important. Who were these people?

Brankov : He mentioned that the line which was not in agreement with the Yugoslav plans was held by Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas in Hungary, but at the same time there are leaders in the Party who hold a different opinion. He mentioned then that Rajk was the person who had to be popularised in Hungary and through the spy network the prestige of Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas has to be decreased. When Tito came to Budapest at the end of 1947 with a govern-

ment delegation, these plans were already formulated in a mature and concrete form, especially at one meeting which took place in Kelebia between Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich and Rajk, the Hungarian Minister of Home Affairs. At this meeting I acted as interpreter. Rankovich gave Rajk definite orders and advice about his duties and how he should work to eliminate the Hungarian government, its leaders, and Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő, the leaders of the Party, whom Rankovich considered the greatest enemies to the realisation of Tito's plan.

The President : Tell us in detail what orders Rankovich gave Rajk on this occasion?

Brankov : I remember . . .

The President : This is the meeting, is it not, in the railway carriage at Kelebia?

Brankov : When I entered the saloon car Rankovich and Rajk were already there. They asked me to be their interpreter. They first talked about the need for the closest possible co-operation between the Yugoslav and the Hungarian Ministries of Home Affairs. This is what they started to talk about ; but they quickly turned to Rajk's duty to do everything to overthrow the Government. Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas had at all costs to be removed from the leadership. I remember there was some talk that if only Rajk was successful in organising a serious opposition in the Party, and then in the state apparatus, then he could count on receiving valuable help from Tito so that he could take over the leadership of the Party and the Hungarian Government. Rankovich told Rajk that he was a suitable person to carry this out. There was also some talk about having to help Rajk in the unification of the trade unions, youth and women's organisations so that Belgrade should become the centre of all the Balkan and Central European peoples' democratic states.

The President : Was György Pálffy not mentioned?

Brankov : At that time György Pálffy was not yet mentioned. Rankovich first mentioned György Pálffy to me when I was in Belgrade in May, 1948.

The President : We shall come to that later.

Brankov : The task of this group would have been the removal of the existing Government and the leaders of the Party.

The President : Who especially?

Brankov : Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas especially as I mentioned before.

The President : So the question was that this group should seize power under the leadership of Rajk?

Brankov : Yes.

The President : . . . and what should they do with this power?

Brankov : Rankovich gave advice to Rajk and told him that he should rely upon such elements as will help the formation of a bourgeois democratic government in Hungary. It is obvious that in the Party, he should in the first place rely upon the Trotskyist elements for they were already fighting against Rákosi in the Party. Then, he should rely upon the nationalist chauvinist elements in, Hungary, the Catholic forces, and in the villages, especially upon the kulaks, and the Yugoslav case should be quoted as an example emphasising that there is no fight against the kulaks in Yugoslavia. In a word, Hungary should follow the way of Yugoslavia.

The President : Now, you said before that you heard things at the beginning that Yugoslavia would set up some special form of socialism.

Brankov : Yes.

The President : It will enrich Marxism you said. Do you remember?

Brankov : Yes.

The President : What you said now: Rajk should seize the power and should rely upon nationalist chauvinist elements, Trotskyist elements, the kulaks and the clerical reaction. What sort of an enrichment of Marxism is that? Or what sort of special socialism? It is no socialism at all. No disguise and no honeyed words can pretend that it is socialism.

Brankov : There is no . . .

The President : What was the question here?

Brankov : There is no contradiction here but only a question of camouflage.

The President : Well then, speak about that.

Brankov : When there was the question of socialism, the enrichment of Marxism, this was told to the Yugoslav people.

The President : So here it appeared straight away that . . .

Brankov : . . . that the Yugoslav people and the Party members should not notice what it is about. In fact, it was about a well worked-out plan which I mentioned here.

The President : Now, in connection with that I ask you whether Rankovich had not mentioned something — that the Titoites don't dream about progress towards socialism? They never wanted socialism? What they carried out was only camouflage to deceive the Yugoslav people? Did Rankovich not mention that?

Brankov : Well, he ...

The President : Just think back.

Brankov : Yes. Openly they did not speak that way ...

The President : Was there no mention about that between Rajk and Rankovich? Think about it.

Brankov : I do not understand the question. In the railway car.

The President : When you acted as interpreter?

Brankov : I don't understand the question properly.

The President : What I am asking?

Brankov : Yes.

The President : I repeat. In the railway car at Kelebia, when you were the interpreter, did not Rankovich tell Rajk that we — the Titoites — never wanted socialism? We wanted capitalism and only pretended to the people of Yugoslavia, that we were constructing socialism to cheat them, to mislead them?

Brankov : I don't remember Rankovich saying so in such an open form. But you are right, I remember very well. That was the essence, but not the words. I do not remember it with those words ...

The President : So it was mentioned?

Brankov : Yes, it was.

The President : László Rajk come here. (*Rajk steps near Brankov*) : László Rajk, Lazar Brankov listen, especially you (*The last words he addresses to Brankov*) : László Rajk yesterday stated the following — I quote his very words: "Rankovich told me the following" — Rajk says that, do you understand?

Brankov : Yes.

The President (*he goes on quoting*) : „I should realise" — that is that he, Rajk, could clearly know — that neither Tito nor the rest of the members of the Yugoslav government wanted a people's democratic regime even after the Liberation and through it the building of socialism in Yugoslavia. If they as a government were still compelled to take such revolutionary measures which in essence and *de facto* began to lead towards the liquidation of capitalism, this was not because they wanted to carry out this programme in earnest, but because they were compelled to do so under pressure from the Yugoslav working masses." This was stated yesterday by László Rajk, that Rankovich told you that squarely, cynically, in Kelebia. Do you remember something like that?

Brankov : As I already told you, it was about that ...

The President : So that was the meaning of it?

Brankov : Yes, but I don't remember words like that ...

The President : Not the words matter, but the meaning!

Brankov : The meaning was that.

The President : Well, what then was the essence of the meaning? Rankovich said: we never wanted socialism, we only cheated the people of Yugoslavia by pretending we wanted it. That is the essence. Did Rankovich say something like that? Because Rajk stated that.

Brankov : He said something like that, but not in such a decisive form.

The President (*to Rajk*) : You uphold your statement, László Rajk? Is that so?

Rajk : I uphold my statement with the remark that obviously after two years, one cannot word for word ...

The President : Not the words are important, please! I said it in quite different words, too, But the meaning?

Rajk : I quote exactly the essence of what Rankovich said.

The President : The essence is exactly what I said now in simple words.

Rajk : What is more, in support of that, he mentioned what I stated yesterday, that they did not agree to giving a special and independent role to the Communist Party in the People's Front, that there should not be a Party which crystallises the socialist forces.

The President (*to Brankov*) : Do you remember anything about what László Rajk is saying now?

Brankov : Rajk has spoken with Rankovich more than once and perhaps he now confuses what they discussed on different occasions.

The President (*to Rajk*) : You are definitely stating that this conversation took place in Kelebia while Brankov was the interpreter?

Rajk : Yes, it is my definite statement.

The President : Tell him to his face.

Rajk (*turning to Brankov*) : I uphold my statement.

The President (*to Brankov*) : Is it possible that it was so, Brankov?

Brankov : It is possible, but I cannot remember exactly now. I do not want to state things I don't remember exactly, but this was the essence of it.

The President : And as for the essence, you know that it was really so?

Brankov : Yes, there was mention of the People's Front, but I cannot remember exactly that it was so. Maybe Rajk remembers better how it was word for word.

The President : All right. You may go back to your place.
Rajk (*To Brankov*) : But what Rankovich said on this occasion.

he said on his own account or referred specially to Tito and his immediate entourage?

Brankov : I remember clearly that at the end he emphasised that what he said, he said not on his own account, but on Tito's account.

The President : You have already mentioned that Rankovich also promised on Tito's behalf to help in taking over power?

Brankov : Yes.

The President : Now speak about that in detail. What help did he promise?

Brankov : At the time of the stay in Kelebia the question of what sort of help was to be given did not arise in any definite form. It occurred only in general that if Rajk succeeded in organising a serious opposition group in Hungary, then he could count on Tito's help. Later there were also talks in progress on what sort of help should be given to Rajk.

The President : This was discussed also in Kelebia, wasn't it?

Brankov : In definite form?

The President : Look here, Brankov. Let us not talk of when it was, and where. Do you know that Rankovich promised assistance to Rajk for the purpose of assuming power, and that he promised to send Yugoslav military units across the frontier, if necessary. Do you know that?

Brankov : Yes I do.

The President : Tell us about that. It is of no importance when and where it was. I believe you have got mixed up, as perhaps it was discussed on several occasions.

Brankov : There were several meetings, very many discussions, and I cannot recall exactly what was discussed on which occasion.

The President : All right.

Brankov : But it was discussed that Rajk's duty was to organise a putsch.

The President : This you have told us already. What forces did Rankovich promise to aid this putsch?

Brankov : First, he promised Rajk that he would help him in Hungary, and if Rajk would perform this important work of organisation, he could depend on serious military aid, too...

The President : That is what I am asking.

Brankov : ... which Tito would render to Rajk, concretely...

The President : He would send them across the frontier in Hungarian uniforms?

Brankov : Yes, it was discussed in what form it would be done.

The President : Tell us about that.

Brankov : There were plans for sending across the frontier several battalions in Hungarian uniforms, men of Hungarian-Yugoslav descent, which would not attract notice in Hungary as the men would look like the South Slavs in Hungary. — He had also promised to help the Hungarian units now in the British and American zones of Austria to come to Hungary via Yugoslav territory.

The President : You have perhaps left something out of the questions we have been discussing. When I asked you with regard to the other peoples' democracies what means the Tito clique wanted to apply to make them line up with the aims of the Yugoslav Government, then you mentioned some means, some methods. Do you recall that the Yugoslav government planned to assign to the Central Committees of the Communist Parties in the peoples' democracies representatives of its own Communist Party?

Brankov : Yes, I do.

The President : You did not mention this before.

Brankov : In order to realise this plan, Tito in 1946-47 had sent his emissaries to the peoples' democracies, including Hungary, and they were named as representatives of the central committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party. I was such a representative in Hungary. In Czechoslovakia, it was Novosel, and later, Marian Stilinovich. Novosel was Counsellor of the Legation; Stilinovich is at present the Yugoslav Minister in Prague. In Poland, it was Sribislava Kovačevich, and later Ivan Rukavina. In Bucharest, Ranko, and later Mihajlov Lompar. In Bulgaria, first it was Mikola Kovačevich and later, Cicmil. In Albania, there were Djerdja and Zlatich. These were the representatives of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party in these countries, and their duty was to popularize Tito, the Yugoslav regime and to do whatever they could in order to induce these states to proceed along the path of Yugoslavia.

The President : To disrupt the Communist Parties there?

Brankov : To disrupt them. If there were a leadership opposing their plans, then a fight must be carried on against this leadership.

The President : Then you omitted another thing, too. You spoke of the methods.

Brankov : Yes, I did.

The President : You mentioned fake papers made out for Anton Rob. This was not the only case in which false passports and false documents were made out. Were you provided with equipment,

and perhaps instructions, so that a little forgery would not be a problem to you?

Brankov : Yes. This was the concern of the consular office, who made out forged documents for those Yugoslav diplomats who were engaged in intelligence work in Hungary and who, if necessary, were always equipped with such forged documents.

The President : Were those people deliberately prepared for that?

Brankov : Yes. And such documents were also given to others, to Hungarian citizens if necessary.

The President ordered a recess.

After the recess, the hearing of Brankov continued.

The President : Lazar Brankov, how did you prepare the secret meeting between Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich and Rajk, in the neighbourhood of Paks, at the beginning of October, 1948?

Brankov : I know that there was a meeting on Hungarian territory in October 1948. This came about in this way ; when I was in Belgrade visiting Rankovich in August, he advised me to tell Rajk after my return to Budapest, that he, Rankovich would very much like to meet Rajk. When I returned to Budapest I went to see Rajk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and told him that Rankovich wanted to meet him. Rajk said he agreed. He asked, however, that the meeting be kept very secret. In principle he agreed, and left it to Rankovich to make definite proposals.

Later, when in October I went to see Rankovich, in the course of the conversation he told me that the meeting had taken place. He advised me to tell Mrazovich to visit Rajk as it was intended that the contact be maintained through Mrazovich.

When I came back, Mrazovich had already been to Rajk, had talked with him and had sent a written report to Belgrade by special courier.

The President : Now relate what instructions you received as the chief representative of the UDB in Hungary, in October, 1948, from the Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich and from Djilas for speeding up the preparations for the putsch in Hungary?

Brankov : I remember that at this meeting Rankovich complained that Rajk worked very slowly and I remember exactly, word for word, that he said the following : "If Rajk acted with greater firmness in Hungary they could dispose of Rákosi in a single night". The thing was that Rajk should have carried out the putsch which they talked over at that meeting. Rankovich said that Rajk should be urged in this matter, to act with greater determination.

The President : Do you know something about the practical measures taken by Tito and Rankovich on the Yugoslav-Hungarian frontier and on Hungarian territory for helping László Rajk in overthrowing the Hungarian state order?

Brankov : Mention was made of the fact that frontier incidents would have to serve as a prelude to this armed intervention. These frontier incidents should awaken such unrest in the Hungarian people as to make them feel that something was wrong in Hungary, that the regime was not standing on a firm footing, for this would help the Rajk campaign.

The President : Of what preparations do you know which Tito and Rankovich made to further the execution of the acts of terrorism, planned against certain members of the Hungarian Government, and of what directives Jovanovich and Jojkich received concerning preparations for the attempt on the life of Mátyás Rákosi?

Brankov : Rajk's task was to organise the attempts on the lives of Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő. As Rajk worked very slowly, Rankovich was not satisfied with his work and wanted to speed up things. Therefore he sent two UDB agents from Yugoslavia as experts, with experience in political murder. These were the UDB agents, Jovanovich and Jojkich. They arrived in Budapest in October, 1948, and they spied on Rákosi's residence, paying special attention to the person of Rákosi. They wanted to find out how and by how many people Rákosi was guarded, whether he moved about by car or on foot, and similar data considered necessary. Jovanovich was later ordered by the Hungarian authorities to leave the country. Jojkich returned to Belgrade at the end of 1948. They watched Rákosi's residence and did the whole job in a very secretive way.

The President : What role was intended by Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich for the acts of terrorism against the Hungarian government in the execution of the putsch in Hungary?

Brankov : He considered these murders as a prelude for carrying out the putsch. This would have been the sign for removing the present government.

The President : In October, 1948, what did Rankovich and Djilas tell you about the secret agreement which had been concluded between Tito and the Anglo-Saxons concerning the campaign and fight against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies?

Brankov : Djilas said that Tito had conferred with American and British representatives in Belgrade and agreed with them that they would help in the anti-Soviet fight of the Tito Government. They would give not only economic, but political, and even military

aid to Tito. Djilas also said that the Americans would be willing to support Tito's Government only if Yugoslavia fought against the Soviet Union. Rankovich added that contacts had to be renewed in Hungary with the Anglo-American intelligence and that we had to co-operate with them to intensify the fight for overthrowing the Hungarian Government, since the situation had become strained and it did not matter what methods were used. What the new government would be like was also mentioned. Rankovich mentioned that Rajk would be Prime Minister in the new government and Pálffy, Minister of Defence. Then he also said that the right-wing social democrats who were in the West, would also participate in the new government. I remember that he mentioned Antal Bán also, who had had some contacts even before the war with Rankovich. I know from UDB documents that Bán had been a police informer of long standing in Yugoslavia, and that Rankovich considered it wise that Bán should also take part in this government for he would be a reliable man for the Tito government.

The President : In October, 1948, what instructions did you get from the Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich for making a provocative statement about your seeming break from the Tito government?

Brankov : He told me straight out that the situation in Hungary was now such that one could not work any longer with the old methods and they had to be changed. The Hungarian authorities had become so vigilant that it had become impossible for the members of the Legation to do their work. He gave me instructions to return to Budapest, to leave the Legation, to make a statement condemning Tito's policy, and to remain in Hungary as a political refugee. I fought four years as a partisan officer during the war and am used to carrying out all orders if they come from Tito. When Rankovich saw that I was wavering, he told me that he had spoken to Tito personally on this matter and that Tito expected me to carry through this task successfully. Although I wavered, I did not have the strength not to carry out a command, an order which I received personally from Tito. I also received definite orders from Rankovich on what I had to do in Hungary when I returned and I then left for Budapest. The orders were the following: first I had to win the confidence of the leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party. That was the first task. The second, if I won this confidence, then without it being noticed I should continue to keep in touch with the Hungarian conspirators, primarily Rajk and Rankovich, because that was very important, perhaps the most essential question. I and Mrazovich had to discontinue all other work and we had to work

only on this. Another of my duties in connection with the plot was to get in touch with a number of other Yugoslav agents who were in Hungary. These were: András Szalai, the deputy chief of the cadres department of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party, Milan Ognjenovich who was the organising secretary of the Democratic Federation of the South Slavs of Hungary, then József Hegedüs, who was a member of the leadership of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society. Finally I had to acquire some material which would in some way compromise the Hungarian Party and also the Yugoslav political refugees. Rankovich informed me that he would keep in touch with me by sending Dusan Sakota to Budapest as Counsellor of the Legation in one or two months' time — he would be the contact between us. These were the instructions.

When I arrived in Budapest I thought over the whole matter. I hesitated, for I was not willing to fulfil this instruction, because I did not disapprove only of this instruction, but of other earlier things. By then I could no longer do anything else but carry out this instruction if I wanted to remain a member of the Yugoslav Communist Party, if I wanted to remain a Yugoslav citizen and did not want to be placed into a position where they would outlaw me. I was in Budapest for two weeks, I hesitated and did not carry out this order. Then a letter came from Belgrade, in the diplomatic bag from Rankovich, in which he called me to account for not yet having carried out the order. If I did not carry this out then he would look upon me as a supporter of the Information Bureau, would outlaw me, and take suitable measures against my family, which was in Yugoslavia. When I received this letter I saw no way out. In the end I decided to carry out this order after all. I trusted Tito; it was difficult to break with Tito and I knew that I had no other way but to carry out an order of which I did not approve. After this I made the statement on Rankovich's orders in which I said that I broke with Tito's policy and began to fulfil the orders even though it was against my will.

The President : Now describe how Rankovich's orders were being carried out in practice, in Hungary, for the preparation of the Hungarian state putch, and then how you made your public statement breaking with the Tito government in October, 1948, in a provocative fashion.

Brankov : At first I waited because I was told not to carry out the orders immediately. We discussed in Belgrade that I would go for a walk every Sunday in the early evening hours on the Gugger hill in the vicinity of a hut. If Sakota came to Budapest it was there that we should meet. Sakota did come.

But I first have to speak about the contact with Rajk. After my statement, the first meeting, I think, took place in November. We met in the corridor at the Hungarian Working People's Party Centre. Then I just briefly told Rajk what it was all about, because he did not know what it was all about and was afraid. I assured him I would not give him away and he should not give me away either. I am not certain how often I met Rajk after that, but I do remember that I met him again in the middle of December. I called him on the telephone at the Foreign Ministry and we decided to meet in his office at the Hungarian Working Peoples' Party Centre at eight o'clock in the evening. I told him what tasks I had been assigned by Rankovich. After that I met Rajk often. It was not immediately clear in those days whether or not Rajk was willing to carry out these instructions. He hesitated and finally told me that in his opinion the execution of the plot and the state putsch should be postponed until a later date as it was not timely. There were serious reasons why it had to be postponed. He said I should inform Rankovich of this.

After that I approached András Szalai and spoke to him. He immediately agreed to continue working as before, and to be at my disposal. The position was different with Ognjenovich and Hegedüs. They said that the State Security Department was watching them carefully, that the State Security Department was suspicious of them, and that they did not want to work because it was very dangerous and they would be arrested.

In February, Sakota visited me at the place appointed. We met four times altogether. At the first and second meeting, Rankovich's instructions were that Rajk should be urged on, he should be told that there had already been enough preparation, and he should now turn to action. Rankovich reminded Rajk that they had discussed the organising of the assassination; what about that, why did Rajk not do anything in this matter. He was dissatisfied because Rajk was late with the organisation of the assassinations.

At the last two meetings Sakota told me that Rankovich was dissatisfied with the little work I had done until now, because everything I had done was insignificant, and that he doubted whether I would really carry out his instructions or not. He also let me know that he would carry out the measures I have already mentioned, against me and my family which remained in Yugoslavia. So he threatened me. I then decided to put an end to the whole thing. I spoke with Rajk. I saw that Rajk was of the opinion that there was no prospect for the success of the plot. He proposed to postpone it.

The President : And what do you know about the murder of Miloš Moich? What can you say in connection with that about the instructions of Rankovich and your role and Blažich's?

Brankov : Moich was one of the members of the leadership of the Democratic Union of the South Slavs of Hungary. He also worked for the UDB, and I think he was in personal contact with Rankovich even before the war. When the resolution of the Information Bureau was published, Moich started to threaten that he would expose Rankovich and the UDB activities in Hungary.

Rankovich's instruction was : All his agents who do not carry out his instructions, who threaten treason and are dangerous in some way, should be liquidated. We sent a report to Rankovich to Belgrade and informed him about the Moich case. In answer to that, instructions came from Rankovich that Moich should be liquidated. I did not agree with this instruction and was against murdering Moich. So we turned to Minister Mrazovich.

When Mrazovich became acquainted with the whole thing and read Rankovich's direct instructions, he said that it had to be carried out. I continued to oppose it and made other proposals, for example, that we could speak with Moich and persuade him instead of murdering him. Mrazovich then became very angry and told me : if I am afraid, he will give me his own revolver to murder Moich; he is not afraid, for Rankovich's instructions are sacred. They should be carried out. Just after that he gave his pistol to Blažich. Blažich settled this case with press attaché Živko Boarov, and as it is known, Boarov murdered Moich with Mrazovich's revolver.

The President : So what was the role you played here?

Brankov : I knew about it, I was against it, that was all.

The President : It was not you who gave the instructions to Boarov?

Brankov : No, not I. I was against it.

The President : Were you present when Boarov got the instructions?

Brankov : I was not present.

The President : We shall return to that later.

After this the President of the Court declared that the trial would continue on Monday at 9 a. m.

On Monday, September 19, at 9 a. m., the trial continued.

The President : Do the people's judges have any question to Lazar Brankov? None. And the people's prosecutor?

People's Prosecutor Dr. Gyula Alapi : I have some questions. Arriving in Hungary, the Yugoslav Military Mission, of which you

were also a member, was given a warm welcome in Hungary, was it not? How did the individual members of the Yugoslav Military Mission return this warm reception?

Brankov : We were received when we arrived in Hungary in 1945, and during the whole time we spent here, in a friendly fashion and were always treated as friends. I must admit that often it was very unpleasant for me and I should even have been ashamed that I had to carry out instructions of the kind we received from Belgrade. These instructions were such that we had to work against those who received us with friendship, that we had to organise spy rings with such methods as I have indicated, and then the organisation of the conspiracy.

The People's Prosecutor : Here at the trial, from the material of the case, it turns out that almost each and every member of the Yugoslav Mission, and later of the Yugoslav Legation, had been commissioned by the Yugoslav statesmen Tito, Rankovich, Kardelj and Djilas to organise a spy network and to do destructive work. What do you know of this?

Brankov : It is a fact that at the Mission and the Legation the great majority were engaged in intelligence work.

The People's Prosecutor : The great majority, right from the beginning.

Brankov : But one can't say that everybody did, for there were some who did not. These only kept up regular connections with the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and did political work. Cicmil, then Javorsky, Smiljanich and Blažich worked politically as intelligence agents ; then on economic questions, Dr. Gavrilovich, the commercial attaché, and his deputy Čačinovich, Judich, and Sinanovich, who was the head of the reparations committee. Then they worked also on military questions, for instance, Major Kovács at the Mission, later Colonel Lozich and his successor Colonel Žokalj, the military attaché. It is also natural that the Minister knew of all of these, because he was kept regularly informed and no important action could be taken without his knowledge.

The People's Prosecutor : Do you have knowledge of cases in which persons who were Hungarian citizens were kidnapped and forcibly taken to Yugoslavia? Here you have already named Ljubitsa Hribar: besides her case, do you know of any similar cases?

Brankov : I remember another actual case of this kind. This happened at the beginning of 1947, in January. Then, as in the case of Ljubica Hribar, Ferenc Mikula, a Hungarian citizen, was illegally and forcibly taken to Yugoslavia — first arrested

and detained at the Mission. He was taken to Yugoslavia in the Mission's car with a false passport. Rudolf Čačinovich organised this action.

The People's Prosecutor : He organised it with false documents.

Brankov : Yes, with false documents. And I think Nikola Grek also co-operated in this.

The People's Prosecutor : Nikola Krek?

Brankov : Yes. In a week's time Mikula was brought back again to Budapest. There in Belgrade he had been forced to work for the UDB.

The People's Prosecutor : Was there no one else?

Brankov : Then there were cases when the agents went back and forth between Yugoslavia and Hungary, always with false passports made out for them either by the Yugoslav Mission or by the Legation. This is how, for instance, Hegedüs, then Sebljanich, Dr. Laslovich and Vidakovich travelled. Several travelled this way.

The People's Prosecutor : You testified before the court in detail that Tito, Rankovich, Kardelj and Djilas were responsible for espionage and wrecking activities in a score of peoples' democratic states, as in Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and here in Hungary. Do you know whether individuals with Yugoslav diplomatic missions carried on similar espionage and wrecking activities elsewhere in addition to the countries already mentioned by you in your testimony?

Brankov : Yes. I know that they worked with such methods and received similar instructions as I here in Hungary, in Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The People's Prosecutor : You also know that they did in Czechoslovakia. Speak about this in greater detail.

Brankov : I know that especially in Czechoslovakia they worked very hard. When I once spoke with Rankovich, he said that they worked much better in Czechoslovakia than in Hungary.

The People's Prosecutor : What was this "good work" like which Rankovich praised in Czechoslovakia?

Brankov : I remember for instance, that Rankovich mentioned Drndich who was the deputy military attaché in Prague and at the same time the chief UDB representative. Drndich, the deputy military attaché, and Novosel Djoko counsellor, of the Legation, were both chief representatives of the UDB. Then Stilinovich, the Minister, who was a special agent of Rankovich's and Kardelj's worked there too, having a job similar to mine here in Hungary. Then Rankovich said — I remember this very well — that Drndich in Czechoslovakia was able to establish good connections with the

Czechs and Slovaks there who had been in the West during the war, in America, Britain, Switzerland and France. He established particularly good connections with the Czechs and Slovaks, who had fought in the British Army during the war and then he recommended that I should get in touch with the Hungarians who had been in the West. With Trotskyists and similar elements.

The People's Prosecutor : Did you actually meet Drndich?

Brankov : Yes, I met Drndich once in 1947 in Belgrade. I asked him how he worked in Czechoslovakia. He said that he was most successful in Slovakia, where he could rely on the Slovak nationalists and Hlinka guardists. There were many in Czechoslovakia who during the war were in Yugoslavia as partisans. With them too, Drndich established similar connections. The methods were identical with those we applied here in Hungary.

The People's Prosecutor : Now, as the chief representative of the UDB in Hungary, tell us precisely what instructions you received from Tito and Rankovich, on how to select in Hungary those who were suitable for bringing into the organisation?

Brankov : First of all, one had to talk with them and suggest that they work for the UDB. If they did not want to, they were to be threatened with exposure.

The People's Prosecutor : To blackmail them?

Brankov : Yes. Chiefly those who were incriminated. For instance, those who had worked for the old Horthy police, for Szálasi, who were Gestapo agents or had co-operated with the American and British intelligence. We had to establish contact with such elements in the first place, as it was proved that they became our best agents.

The Public Prosecutor : They were already experienced.

Brankov : They were more easily kept in hand and were also willing to work. These were, of course, Gestapo methods. Rankovich didn't even make a secret of it and often remarked that one could learn much from the Gestapo. In my opinion, the Anglo-Americans certainly applied similar methods with Tito and also with Rankovich. I know, for instance, that during the war the partisans spoke much about a case when Rankovich and a small group were caught by the Germans. That small group was then executed and only Rankovich succeeded in getting free a few weeks later. Then . . .

The People's Prosecutor : Did he come to no harm?

Brankov : Nothing happened to him. It was said then that Rankovich might have been brought into the organisation by the Germans, at that time. Then there was much talk during the war that in 1941, '42 and at the beginning of '43, Tito had carried on negotiations with the Germans to discontinue the fight, provided the

Germans would consent that he set up a government in Yugoslavia. At that time, there were many who would not believe this, but there were many who did believe it, and those did certainly have more and better knowledge of him. In 1943, towards the middle of the year, however, when the Soviet Union was gaining great victories over the German army, Tito discontinued these negotiations, but those who knew of his negotiations with the Germans, — I already mentioned that they used such methods — were sent out to places where they were certain to perish. They have been considered as Tito's enemies.

The People's Prosecutor : That is to say, they were massacred.

Brankov : They were sent to places where the fight was hopeless, and so they perished by the hundred. At that time, there was much talk about this, but as I said, not everyone knew of it.

The People's Prosecutor : That is to say, there were people who believed it, and there were those who did not. Going back to the case of Anton Rob. The Yugoslav Legation rendered assistance in the flight from Hungary of Anton Rob, the Hungarian deputy to the National Assembly. What Hungarian stamps were used to make out a forged passport for Anton Rob, and who was the person working at the legation who had taken Anton Rob across the frontier?

Brankov : Rob received a forged passport which was made out for him by the Consular Office. Not only Anton Rob, but others too who were travelling to Yugoslavia illegally, received such passports. There was a whole collection of various stamps.

The People's Prosecutor : Of Hungarian stamps?

Brankov : Of Hungarian stamps. They gave Hungarian visas at any time, without the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The People's Prosecutor : Were those forged into the Yugoslav passports?

Brankov : Yes. Anton Rob went to Yugoslavia with such a passport. This was first the job of Smiljanich, head of the Consular Office, and later it was the job of Blažich.

The People's Prosecutor : Tell us exactly : what direct role did Rankovich play in the killing of the Hungarian citizen Milos Moich?

Brankov : Moich was killed upon Rankovich's repeated instructions in writing.

The People's Prosecutor : Did you see it?

Brankov : Yes, I did.

The People's Prosecutor : And you also read it?

Brankov : Yes, I did.

The People's Prosecutor : That coded instruction?

Brankov : Yes, as instructions of that kind were read by Minister Mrazovich, by myself and the secretaries of the Legation.

The People's Prosecutor : I have no more questions.

The President : Has Lazar Brankov's Counsellor for Defence any questions? (*None.*) Has László Rajk's Counsellor for Defence any? (*None.*) Has György Pálffy's Counsellor for Defence any? (*None.*) Return to your seat, Lazar Brankov! (*Brankov returns to his place.*)

The President : László Rajk, come to the microphone, I have an additional question to ask of you. (*László Rajk comes forward to the judge's platform.*) You told us in the course of your statement that in the French internment camps you were doing Trotskyist work. Tell us the names of those Hungarians besides you who were in those internment camps in France.

Rajk : In this connection, I have already mentioned some names in my statement. Apart from repeating those I could not very well mention any more. On the one hand, I have met innumerable people since then and the names are blotted out from my memory, on the other hand, many of the Hungarians were using aliases during the war in Spain. I myself did not operate in Spain under the name of Rajk, but under that of Firtos. The names which I kept in my memory were : Sándor Cseresnyés, Frigyes Major, Imre Gayer, and the ones I think I have not mentioned so far and who belong here were Ráth, Kálsics, Kovács. In this connection I cannot very well mention any more of the Hungarians.

I mentioned also that we, the Hungarian Trotskyist group, even though the group itself was under my leadership, were in close and organic co-operation with the Yugoslav Trotskyist group which was the most numerous in the camp and actually formed the general staff of the whole Trotskyist work. Here too I mentioned a few names and I cannot mention any additional names here either. Partly I cannot because as foreign names they have become hazy in my memory and partly I cannot tell what positions in Yugoslavia's various key posts the people whose names I do remember fill, in this way I cannot with full responsibility and without mistakes enumerate everybody. Partly because we in Spain and especially later in the French internment camp were in very poor physical condition, many had grown moustaches and beards. I remember that when, for instance, Milich, accompanied by Brankov, visited me at my home in the autumn of 1947 about the reception of Tito's government delegation, and introduced himself and began to speak with me in Spanish, I could hardly recognise in his general's uniform, well-groomed, the same Milich

with whom I had been in the internment camp. The other reason why I could not name everybody here with full responsibility and without mistakes everybody, saying who is where today, is because they too often used aliases. It happened that names behind which I thought to recognise former fighters in Spain, turned out not to belong to them at all, and vice versa with those of whom I did not think at all that they had been in Spain, it turned out that they had been in Spain. This is all I can say in connection with this question.

The President : Take your seat. (*László Rajk returns to his place.*)

Examination of Dr. Tibor Szőnyi

The President : Bring in Dr. Tibor Szőnyi. Dr. Tibor Szőnyi, come forward! (*Dr. Tibor Szőnyi goes to the platform*) Did you understand the charge?

Szőnyi : I did.

The President : Do you plead guilty?

Szőnyi : I do plead guilty.

The President : You were organised by the American spy service in Switzerland. Tell us in detail when and under what circumstances you were brought into the organisation?

Szőnyi : I came into contact with the American secret service in Switzerland in the autumn of 1944. During the war, from the end of 1938, I resided in Switzerland as a political emigré. During the war, political emigrés from almost every Central and East European state, among them left-wing communist groups, were staying in great numbers in Switzerland. Among the left-wing political emigrés the intelligence organs of Great Britain, and especially of the United States of America, were doing very active work, as far back as the first year of the war. During the war, the American military strategic intelligence, the so-called Office of Strategic Services, had its European centre in Switzerland. Its head was Allan Dulles, as representative in Europe. Officially, Allan Dulles was assigned to the American Legation in Berne. Actually, he was the European head of the OSS. In the summer of 1944, towards the end of the war, in its last year, it had become obvious that a part of the East European and Central European countries would be liberated by the Soviet troops. At that time, the American intelligence service, under the leadership of Allan Dulles, began to concentrate on the task of bringing into its organisation spies from the political emigrés there, especially from the left-wing communist groups. The purpose of this was to infiltrate these people into the territories liberated by the Soviet troops, to carry out underground activity against the Communist Parties there. It was in the course of this activity that I came into contact with the American spy organisation. The chief

helpmate and closest collaborator of Allan Dulles in his work of organising spies from among the political emigrés was Noel H. Field, who was officially the head of an American relief organisation in Switzerland, of the Unitarian relief organisation called the Unitarian Service Committee. In reality, he was a direct collaborator of Dulles in the spy organisation. His duty, as head of the relief organisation, was to extend financial help and assistance to the political emigrés. and through this to establish connections and friendship with them and do organisation work for the American spy ring. Further helpers and direct collaborators of Allan Dulles in this work were the Yugoslav spies. In fact, Miša Lompar, who was then in Zürich, officially as the head of the Yugoslav emigré group, was, however, in reality even then an American spy and direct collaborator of Dulles.

Later Miša Lompar became Consul General in Zürich, a diplomat by profession. An assistant of Dulles was the Yugoslav spy Latinovich, who worked first in Switzerland, in Geneva, and later became Consul General in France, in Marseilles. Another assistant of Dulles was a Yugoslav spy called Confino.

I was the leader of a Hungarian political emigré group which was formed at the end of 1942 or at the beginning of 1943, under the name of the Swiss Group of the Hungarian Independence Front. This group consisted of students, intellectuals, and politically vacillating elements whom I educated in 1944 in a chauvinistic and pro-American spirit under Miša Lompar's influence, as a result of his organising activities. Miša Lompar did this work partly through his direct contact with me, and partly through another member of the group, Ferenc Vági, who was on my behalf in direct contact with Lompar and under Miša Lompar's political influence. In this influence the theory of Browder, then leader of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., played a great part. Printed copies of Browder's books in French and German were distributed in great number by Lompar and Field both in Switzerland and in France, on behalf of the American secret service. My group came to the conclusion that after the war we had to take a position in Hungary within the Communist Party, and in general, we would have to represent such a political line as would make Hungary range herself on the side of the United States. Lompar proposed to me in September 1944, that I should enter into direct contact with OSS leader Allan Dulles. Lompar and Field were active in this sense not only with the Hungarian political emigré group, but with other political emigré groups, too. So I definitely knew that they had established a similar contact with the Czechoslovak group, notably with Pavlik,

who lived there then, and further with a German Trotskyist group whose leader was Politzer, and with other countries, notably with the Polish political emigré groups. I worked out a memorandum with Ferenc Vági about the political conception of the members of my group and myself, especially for the post-war period, and I explained that we were willing and considered it necessary to collaborate with American Intelligence after the war. I sent this memorandum through Lompar to Dulles and then, at the end of September 1944, my first personal meeting with Allan Dulles took place in Berne. I met Dulles regularly until my return home in January, 1945. My formal enrollment into the American spy organisation took place at the end of November 1944, in Berne. At this meeting Dulles explained to me at length his political conception for the period after the war and told me that the Communist Parties would obviously become government parties in a whole series of Eastern European countries which would be liberated by Soviet troops. So support for an American orientation and the American collaboration policy should be carried on first of all within the Communist Party. He asked me about my chances of infiltrating into the Communist Party in Hungary. When I had given him adequate information about that, he set me certain tasks. At this meeting at the end of November 1944, despite there being no difference of opinion between us in the question of the common activities and though I entirely identified myself with the point of view he explained to me, Dulles showed me, as a means of terrorising me, the receipt I had signed on a previous occasion for Noel H. Field, the leader of the relief organisation I mentioned before, for a subsidy I had received. I saw this receipt in Dulles' hand in November, 1944. Later I met Dulles more than once. I agreed with him that after our return home we would remain in contact with each other, and I would use in this contact the cover-name "Péter" and he the cover-name "Wagner".

The President : You have already spoken about Miša Lompar. Now, summarising the whole, what was his role?

Szőnyi : Miša Lompar, as I said, lived at that time in Switzerland, officially as the leader of the Yugoslav political emigré group. I found out even at that time through my talk with Lompar, and also from Ferenc Vági — who, as I said, was in direct contact with Lompar, on my instructions — that a secret contact was established in 1944 between the Yugoslav prime minister Tito and Allan Dulles, at that time head of the European centre of the American intelligence service. Discussions were going on between official American circles and Tito to work out their common work and common tactics, with the aim that Tito, as the central personality,

should organise and direct destructive, subversive work against the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties in the Balkans.

The President : Tell us something about those who belonged to the group which you then organised on the instructions of the American intelligence service.

Szőnyi : As I have already said, the members of the group were students and intellectuals who were from the beginning politically vacillating and inexperienced and, under my influence, they adopted a pro-American, chauvinist outlook. The names of the members of my group were : Ferenc Vági, András Kálmán, György Demeter, Gyula Kuti, János Dobó, Iván Földi, Mrs. György Demeter, György Hódos, Péter Balabán and György Somló.

The President : When, how, and with what assignments was this group sent to Hungary?

Szőnyi : Dulles gave orders at the end of November 1944, to prepare, together with my group, to return home, and that he himself would organise the transference of the group to Hungary. However, only part of the group started on this journey.

The President : How many?

Szőnyi : There were six including myself : Ferenc Vági, György Demeter, Gyula Kuti, András Kálmán and János Dobó. On my instructions we left the rest of the members behind. I entrusted Iván Földi with the continuation of the work. His task was, on the one hand, until he came home to Hungary, to continue there his destructive work, under my instructions, against the Hungarian Government, on the other hand I entrusted him with the handing on of secret intelligence material to Field, and through Field to Allan Dulles. As I mentioned, Dulles gave me definite instructions concerning our return home at the end of November. He said that this journey would be organised by Mihajlo Lompar ; and the financial side of the journey, the reimbursement of the expenses, would be dealt with by Noel H. Field, on his instructions. Immediately after my discussion with Dulles I turned to Mihajlo Lompar who supplied us — the group of six — with forged papers for the journey. These documents showed us to be Yugoslav officers going to Yugoslavia as a Yugoslav officers' delegation. In addition Miša Lompar gave us a confidential letter to the home affairs authorities in Belgrade which said that we were travelling to Hungary as agents of the American secret service and asked them to assist us in our journey from Belgrade onwards. On Dulles' instructions Field had previously authorised 4,000 Swiss francs for the travelling expenses of the group and he organised the illegal crossing of the Swiss-French frontier. On

Lompar's instructions we went to Marseilles with the certificates and forged papers received from Miša Lompar and there reported to the Yugoslav Consul General Latinovich who was already informed of our arrival and of the aim and character of our journey. Latinovich helped us to continue our journey by giving us some further forged documents. He gave us a letter to the Yugoslav Military Mission in Bari and put us in touch with the American military intelligence organisations in Marseilles which were called G2. On his initiative the American military authorities put a special plane at our disposal for us to continue our journey, with which we flew from Marseilles to Naples and from Naples directly to Belgrade. In Belgrade we reported to the home affairs authorities, to Major Kovačević to whom I gave Miša Lompar's letter, on the basis of which Kovačević put me in touch with Nikolaj Kalafatich, a major in the OZNA, who then organised our journey to Hungary.

He put a special car, an OZNA car, at our disposal. He gave us an OZNA officer to accompany us, who took us by car through Novisad and Subotica to Szeged. When we arrived in Szeged, carrying out the instructions I had from Nikolaj Kalafatich, I ordered the members of my group to destroy the forged Yugoslav papers, which they did.

The President : According to your statement then, there was clearly recognisable co-operation between the Yugoslav and the American intelligence services in getting the spy ring into Hungarian territory.

Szőnyi : Yes, there was the closest co-operation. But this co-operation extended even to the organisation of intelligence channels. For, as I said, at our last meeting in December 1944, in Berne, Allan Dulles, head of the OSS, told me the intelligence channels through which I could keep in touch with him. Thus, in the first place, he named Miša Lompar who would then inform me about these channels more fully and in detail. Then during my stay in Marseilles Latinovich and I decided that I would talk this over in even greater detail in Belgrade with the organisations of the OZNA. This actually happened during our confidential conference with Kalafatich in Belgrade. Kalafatich said that I should transmit the material intended for the American secret service to Colonel Obrad Ciemil in Budapest, who was then head of the Yugoslav Military Mission and a member of the Allied Control Commission, who would transmit this material to him, Kalafatich, in Belgrade and he would send it to Latinovich by the official courier through the organisations of the OZNA, and Latinovich would get it to Lompar and directly to Allan Dulles.

The President : What were the instructions regarding other ways in which you should get to your employers the data to be collected on Hungarian territory ?

Szőnyi : When in 1944, at the end of November and then in December, I had my last two talks with Allan Dulles, the head of the OSS in Berne, then he first of all gave me definite instructions on the tasks which would await us on our return to Hungary and afterwards. At the same time he told me the channels for forwarding intelligence. One of the channels of which I have already spoken was the Yugoslav secret intelligence through Nikolaj Kalafatich, OZNA major. In addition, there was the second channel made available to me by Allan Dulles ; this was through Noel H. Field. As a third channel, to be used only in out-of-the-ordinary cases, Dulles suggested that under the alias "Péter" I could transmit material for "Wagner" in office No. 2. of the American Legation in Berne. These three channels were at my disposal.

The President : Among the official Yugoslav agents operating in Hungary, who helped you to keep up this connection ?

Szőnyi : In Hungary I was helped by Colonel Obrad Ciemil, the head of the Yugoslav Military Mission and a member of the Allied Control Commission with whom András Kálmán, a member of my group, was in direct contact here in Budapest.

The President : After this let us discuss what acts of espionage and other destructive work were done against the Hungarian state order by the group organised and led by you, after its arrival in Hungary, and then also tell us how you transmitted the assembled espionage data to the American intelligence services.

Szőnyi : After we had got home we carried out together the assignments I got at my two last meetings in Berne from Allan Dulles, the European head of the OSS. First of all, of course, we concealed the fact that we had connections with the American secret organisations and thus I was able through deceit to get into a very significant job right at the beginning — a position in the Hungarian Communist Party. I then used this position to place the rest of the members of my group, through my recommendations, partly in the Party, partly in other state or economic posts, in influential, important positions. Thus, I placed Ferenc Vági first in the press, then later in the press department of the Prime Minister's office. I got an important position for András Kálmán in the Ministry of People's Welfare. I placed György Demeter first in the Kovács machine factory, later as the manager of the Danuvia works, and still later in the Institute of War Technology. Later, I also placed those other members of my group who came back separately from us. Thus,

I put Péter Balabán into an important position at the Radio and later, when he arrived in Hungary, Iván Földi in a key position at the Hungarian-Soviet Oil Company. In 1945 and 1946 the members of my group held regular meetings every two months. These took place either in my flat or in the flat of András Kálmán and György Demeter. I then gave the members of my group instructions for their activities. I gave them the order to try to do seemingly productive, good work in their jobs, which they held on my recommendation in the way I have already explained, and in this manner get on and acquire really influential jobs. They should try to foster good, friendly relationships with their colleagues and through this win collaborators in the first place for the pro-American policy, and for intelligence work. I also got them to conduct propaganda against the policy of the Party leadership among their colleagues in their place of work. The members of my group carried out these tasks.

When Iván Földi, at the end of 1945, came to Budapest for a few days from Geneva to report on his work there, on my instructions and in my presence Ferenc Vági and Iván Földi agreed that Ferenc Vági should regularly supply secret information of a political and economic nature through Iván Földi to Noel H. Field, and through him to Dulles. Vági supplied this material to Földi through Colonel Obrad Cicmil regularly during the year 1946. Material was sent about the plans to stop the inflation, about other economic measures, about the strength of the Communist Party, that is, generally speaking, political and economic information of a confidential nature which was in our possession. In addition, I sent news material direct to Földi, and through Földi to Field, through a special courier as well as via the chief route. Iván Földi himself in his capacity as a courier took this sort of material at the end of 1945, and then in May 1946, when he was in Budapest.

When Iván Földi came to Budapest from Geneva for a few days in May 1946, he brought me a sealed letter from Field in which the names of three American spies were mentioned, Béla Szász, György Ádám and Iván Máté, who were already organised agents of the American intelligence service and he told me about that. Later on, knowing that Béla Szász and György Ádám were American spies, I placed them in important jobs, in the case of Béla Szász on the specific instructions of László Rajk.

When Iván Földi returned to Switzerland in 1946 I instructed him to prepare the return of the members of the group still remaining there, and also his own return to Hungary, and at the same time to discuss with Noel H. Field how we should maintain contact afterwards. Földi was again in Budapest for a few days in the autumn

of 1946 and he told me then that he had passed on my message to Field, who sent me the answer that the contact would soon be re-established. This did in fact happen through my receiving instructions by a special courier from Wagner, that is from Allan Dulles, to get in touch with László Rajk.

The President: When and in what way did you make this contact?

Szőnyi: I contacted Rajk at the end of November 1946. But before that I should say that in my discussions with Dulles in November 1944, in Berne, Dulles questioned me in detail about what possibilities I had for infiltrating into the Hungarian Communist Party. During this discussion Dulles asked if I knew Firtos-Rajk. I told him that I did not know him personally but knew who he was. He then told me that he had met Firtos-Rajk in France at the time of the Spanish Civil War. He did not know what was happening to Rajk then, but it was possible that in my later work I might have to work with him.

In 1946 that special courier who brought me the message by word of mouth that "Péter should get in touch with Wagner's acquaintance from France", that is with Rajk, was László Bartók, a former diplomat with the rank of counsellor in the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. A few days after I received this message I called upon Rajk. I told him that I should like to talk with him on important matters and asked him to visit me. Rajk visited me the same day in my private office at the offices of the Organisation Department of the Party Centre. I gave him this message that I was Péter and I was establishing contact with him on Wagner's behalf. Rajk replied that he already knew about me, he had already been informed about that. From this fact I then saw that Rajk must previously have been in contact with the secret American espionage organs, for he had already been informed of my cover-name and about the fact that I would report to him under this name.

This first talk of ours was only a short one. After this I soon met Rajk again and from this time until May 1949, my arrest, I was in regular contact with Rajk, he directed my wrecking activities, I got instructions from him and it was also he who later informed me confidentially about the armed revolt, the plot.

As for myself, I carried out the tasks given by Rajk according to his instructions. This consisted first in the fact that from November 1947, in my capacity as the leader of the cadres department, I placed in every field, in important jobs in the Party and economic and

state life, people would I considered it was possible to win over and to use and who would be reliable for the plot.

The President : We shall later turn to the details of the cadres policy.

Szónyi : The essence of my role in the preparation of the plot was to select people for the different fields and place them in influential jobs.

Rajk also assigned to me the definite task of preparing, for the time after the conspiracy, after the armed putsch had been brought off, a party conference, which . . .

The President : When did you receive these instructions?

Szónyi : Rajk first gave me this job at the end of April 1949, and then at the beginning of May, on the occasion of our last meeting before my arrest. This meeting took place in the Party rest home. An exact date was not mentioned even then, but Rajk said that apart from the uncertainty about the date I should begin by picking out those persons reliable from our point of view, who could take part as delegates in a party conference the duty of which would be the subsequent legalisation of the putsch.

The President : A subsequent legalisation?

Szónyi : Yes.

The President : Did he give these instructions concerning the conference for after the putsch?

Szónyi : Yes.

The President : Do you know anything about acts of terrorism planned against the Hungarian Government and especially against some members of the Hungarian Government? Who were the members of the Hungarian Government that were threatened? Did you have anything to do with the planning of acts of terrorism?

Szónyi : I did know something about the planning of these acts of terrorism. In May 1949, about two weeks before my arrest, during the conversation at the Party rest home which I mentioned before, Rajk gave me exhaustive information about the detailed, practical plan for the putsch. He told me among other things — and this he settled with Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich — that the physical destruction of leading Hungarian statesmen, namely of Ministers Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő, was planned.

The President : What did you say about these terrorist acts?

Szónyi : With regard to the acts of terrorism — and before, when I first learnt from Rajk's information of the armed character

of the conspiracy — I did not agree with the plan, and I even told this to Rajk. I told him I considered it wrong and unfeasible. Rajk, however, attempted to influence me, and in spite of the fact that I held to my opinion and opposed this plan, I did not have the courage to expose it to the Hungarian authorities.

The President : You continued to serve the plan, in fact?

Szónyi : I continued to carry out Rajk's instructions in connection with the plan.

The President : Who was the foreign inspirer of the plan for armed insurrection?

Szónyi : From my conversations with Rajk I know that Rajk from the very beginning had maintained close connections with leading Yugoslav politicians, with Tito and Rankovich — with regard to the lay-out of the plan of the conspiracy, concerning the general plan as well as its details — and that he had received instructions from them concerning the plans.

Rajk also told me that with regard to the date they would proceed according to the instructions and viewpoints of the American secret service and Rankovich. He explained to me that the timing depended to a decisive extent on the international situation, and when the international situation seemed favourable the plan would actually be carried out.

The President : In your view, the interests of what powers were served by this whole plan for armed insurrection against the Hungarian regime, against the Hungarian state?

Szónyi : This plot aimed at the overthrow of the Hungarian people's democracy served, of course, the interests of those who had worked it out, who were the brains behind it. That is : it was part of the common American-Yugoslav plans. The conspiracy, the putsch, were part of the plan which I have already mentioned, which I first heard about from Rajk in the summer of 1948, and in detail at the beginning of 1949 : the plan of the Balkan federation.

The President : What else can you tell us of the connections between László Rajk and Yugoslav government circles?

Szónyi : I knew of László Rajk's connections with Yugoslav government circles from what I was told by him in the course of our activities connected with the conspiracy.

From all this I saw that in the preparation and drawing up of the plans for the whole armed putsch and in the discussion of the detailed execution of the plans there was the closest connection between Rajk and the leading Yugoslav politicians. It was

characteristic of László Rajk's connections with leading Yugoslav politicians that during our conference in July 1948 in the Ministry of Home Affairs which took place directly after the publication of the resolution of the Information Bureau, Rajk told me that the whole series of facts which had become public in connection with the resolution of the Information Bureau did not surprise him, for Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich had told him some time ago of the provocative methods employed by the Yugoslav home authorities, led by Rankovich, against the official diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies.

The President : What internal forces did you count on which in your view would have supported an armed attack against the Government?

Szőnyi : As far as internal forces are concerned, in the course of our conferences Rajk mentioned to me György Pálffy, on whose support he counted. He counted on the support of a part of the army through him, as well.

The President : And then?

Szőnyi : Then he mentioned that he counted on the support of the police. He said, in reply to my questions, that as Minister of Home Affairs he was trying to extend and ensure his own personal influence over the police and other home authorities. The names he mentioned on whom he could rely were first of all Endre Szebenyi, who was Under-Secretary of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs; Gyula Oszkó, who was the head of the personnel department of the Ministry of Home Affairs, and Sándor Cseresnyés. In addition Rajk had already placed in leading positions, partly with my co-operation as head of the cadres department, partly in his own official capacity, his own reliable men, his old companions in espionage. So, for instance, he brought into the Ministry of Home Affairs László Marschall as the head of the education department. Then he brought in László Mátyás, and he placed in the police János Beck, Kálcsics, Kovács and Károly Ráth, who had all been old companions of Rajk's in his destructive work.

The President : On what additional forces did you count?

Szőnyi : Rajk told me in 1947 — towards the end of the summer of 1947 or in the early autumn — that he had decided to dissolve, and did dissolve, the Party organisations inside the police force, to make sure of his influence inside the police, with the purpose of thus preventing all control or interference which might reduce his personal influence in that field. The other forces, internal forces, on whom we counted in connection with the conspiracy were those persons

having important Party, state, administrative or economic functions whom I as the head of the cadres department had placed according to the plan I spoke of earlier. In addition, we counted in general on the support of the Hungarian reactionaries and chauvinist circles. On Rajk's instructions we tried in a planned way during the past two years to build up his personal influence in these circles. So, for instance, among the students of the NÉKOSz we popularised Rajk as the leader of the Hungarian national forces, and we counted on the support of these elements also.

The President : Did you receive any instructions from abroad concerning the internal forces which were to be used?

Szőnyi : Yes. When we discussed these internal forces and the support promised by the Yugoslavs, Rajk told me that in general we must seek the support of the middle strata in particular, by which, in the villages, the kulaks were to be understood, and in the towns, those strata where the nationalist and chauvinist emotional influence was strong.

The President : What forces were promised to you from abroad and what foreign forces did you intend to use in general?

Szőnyi : Rajk told me in detail in the spring of 1949, in April and in May, that Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich personally promised Yugoslav help in the course of his talks with Rajk. Rankovich promised to help in the execution of the terrorist acts against Hungarian statesmen which I have already mentioned.

The President : By name, against whom?

Szőnyi : Against Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas.

The President : What help had he promised?

Szőnyi : I don't know the details of that. He promised also — and in fact, this help was realised in practice — armed provocations, armed clashes at the Yugoslav-Hungarian frontier. In addition to this armed help, foreign support from other directions, too, was promised for the carrying out of the putsch. Namely that Hungary would get economic and financial aid from the U. S. A. after the putsch had been carried out. Further — and Rajk told me this as far back as 1948 — it was promised to him that if the putsch succeeded and Rajk became Prime Minister, the U. S. A. would support Hungary's admission to the United Nations.

My destructive activity in connection with the plot consisted also in the fact that after the resolution of the Information Bureau I distributed to my contacts the propaganda materials, leaflets, published in Yugoslavia in support of Tito's policy which I got from András Szalai. I knew András Szalai as a Titoite sympathiser, and therefore

I used him in my cadres activities as my deputy and he, following my instructions, gave every support to this destructive cadres policy.

The President : As for the destructive cadres policy, you have only used as an explanation the few names you have already mentioned in your statement. Did your cadres policy extend to many more than these?

Szónyi : Yes, to many more, in the sense that I did my best in placing in all fields, into important leading jobs really careerist, dissatisfied, politically unreliable elements whom we could later use for our purposes.

The President : Did you pursue your espionage activities in this period, in other words, in the period of your contact with Rajk, too?

Szónyi : I carried on my intelligence activities, but I had no more contact with the American intelligence at that time, only through Rajk.

The President : So the news you collected you sent to the Americans through Rajk?

Szónyi : Yes.

The President : What essential changes did you intend in the foreign and domestic policy of Hungary if the plot succeeded?

Szónyi : The first thing was the establishment of a new government. It was also planned that the political structure of the country should be changed in the way Rajk had discussed with the leading Yugoslav politicians, with the Yugoslav domestic political situation as a model. That is, a change in which the role of the parties, first of all that of the Hungarian Working People's Party, would have been pushed into the background and in its place a People's Front on a broader basis would be established as an organisation to direct the political life of the country. The broadening would be carried out in such a way that we would provide the kulaks with political representation within the People's Front. In economic fields, the first question was gradually — obviously not all at once — to do away with all the basic achievements of the people's democracy: to give back the factories, the banks and the mines to the capitalists and to reverse in part the land reform. As for our tactics in carrying this out, the plan was that obviously it could not be realised all at once, but only step by step, slowly, according to the situation. The same slow and gradual changes were intended in foreign affairs. We wanted also to carry out slowly, step by step, the aim of turning Hungary from the friendly side of the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies to the side of the U. S. A. This was necessary because we knew very well that there was powerful sympathy for the Soviet Union within the ranks

of the Hungarian working people and at the same time sympathy for America was entirely or in great measure lacking. Thus such a change could have been realised only slowly, gradually. Even in connection with the plan to accept economic aid from the United States — as a financial loan — our view was that this must also have been realised in some disguised form, not as an open American loan, for there would have been great resistance against an American loan among the Hungarian working people. That is, the tactics to be applied would have been the very same as in Yugoslavia.

The President : What was your project for the composition of the Hungarian Government that would be established if the putsch succeeded?

Szónyi : László Rajk was to become Prime Minister. The other leaders of the plot would become members of the government; reactionary political circles in Hungary and Hungarian politicians abroad would also be taken into the government, those who would agree with the aim of the plot, the aim of our pro-American policy, the restoration of the bourgeois democratic system in Hungary.

The President : Step forward. Do you know the people in these photographs? (He shows three photographs to Szónyi.)

Szónyi (steps to the President's platform and looks at the photographs) : I know them.

The President : Who is that? (He shows him one of the photographs).

Szónyi : Noel Field.

The President : This? (He shows him another photograph.)

Szónyi : I don't know him. This man I don't know.

The President : You don't recognise Allan Dulles here?

Szónyi : Oh yes, I do recognise him. At that time he did not wear spectacles.

The President : He did not wear spectacles. That must have confused you.

Szónyi : Yes.

The President : Who is this? (Showing him the third photograph.)

Szónyi : I think it is Rankovich.

The President : Perhaps you did not see him. László Rajk, please come here. (Rajk steps forward to the platform.) Do you know these people? Who is this? Do you recognise this? (Showing him one of the photographs.)

Rajk : I recognise this one. It is Rankovich.

The President : Do you recognise Field?

Rajk : I do not know him. I do not remember whether I ever spoke to him. I can definitely remember that he came to the camp

and they asked for me at the same time. That is why, as I say, in all probability it is Field, but that was eight years ago and I cannot recall his face.

The President : But they definitely told you then that it was Field?

Rajk : It was Field.

The President : So you saw him once but because it was so long ago you cannot be sure you remember his face.

Rajk : When I spoke to him they told me afterwards that it was Field, and I did not pay attention then.

The President (to Szőnyi) : But you, as you have said, definitely recognise Field in this photograph?

Szőnyi : Yes.

The President ordered a short recess.

After the recess the trial continued with the questioning of Dr. Tibor Szőnyi.

The President : I have one more question to ask you. Say something about what financial rewards you, or — if you know anything about it — Rajk received in return for your work as spies?

Szőnyi : I have already said in the course of my examination that in connection with our journey home, I and the other members of my group received 4000 Swiss francs from Field on Allan Dulles' instructions for our travelling expenses.

The President : You spoke about this. And in addition?

Szőnyi : In addition to this, members of my group, especially Ferenc Vági and György Demeter, received regular financial assistance from Noel H. Field, with my knowledge, in 1943 and 1944. Similarly, on two occasions, I received financial assistance from Noel Field.

The President : Can you tell us the amount? So they did receive assistance?

Szőnyi : Yes, they did. I can also tell you the amount — 200-300 Swiss francs. Noel Field paid out this amount as the head of the Unitarian Service Committee. I have no knowledge of financial assistance to Rajk and I suppose there was none.

The President : How is that?

Szőnyi : I suppose that he did not receive financial assistance because the American secret service was keeping him in their hands along other lines.

The President : Have you finished?

Szőnyi : I have finished answering the question, but I ask permission to make a statement which is not connected with the question.

The President : Please go ahead.

Szőnyi : I have during my examination here, as earlier before the investigation authorities, perfectly sincerely and frankly told everything I know and knew on this matter in connection with the charge. I also told of my hesitation about the armed conspiracy and my opposition to certain questions in the last months, and that I openly expressed my difference of opinion with Rajk. It is, however, true that for all that, in practice, I carried out the tasks assigned to me because I did not have the courage to reveal the whole matter and expose it to the authorities. However, the fact that, even before my arrest, the inner conviction of the rightness of what I was doing was missing, contributed to a great extent to the fact that I could sincerely and openly expose the facts known to me. I have repented of my actions and tried with all sincerity — as far as this is possible so belatedly and under such circumstances — to make amends for my guilty actions.

I consider it necessary to state this here and to emphasise it, because I know from experience that in trials of a political character certain circles and certain expert writers have the habit of spreading the story that confessions of guilt of the accused are made under duress, or are due to certain drugs, injections or suggestion. I am a physician and a neurologist, and I have known for a long time that such things are impossible. And now I have learnt from my own experience that such things are out of the question. The sole reason for my sincere confession is that I made up my mind to be sincere, in order to make good what little can be made good at all in connection with such a grave crime. Therefore I could be frank and sincere. That is what I wanted to say.

The President : Have the People's Judges any questions to the accused Dr. Tibor Szőnyi?

(There were no questions.)

The President : Has the People's Prosecutor any questions?

The People's Prosecutor : I have some questions. In the event of the plan of your organisation being successful, according to the plan, Ferenc Kisbarnaki Farkas with his arrow-cross men would have marched into Hungary from Austria, and obviously, under his lead, these people would have assumed power. What would have been the actual practical consequence of that?

Szőnyi : According to the plans known to me, and according to the views I held then, the changes in Hungary after the putsch would have meant the transformation of the people's democratic republic into a bourgeois democratic republic.

The People's Prosecutor : I am rather asking from a practical point of view. Didn't it ever occur to you that these arrow-cross men might resume exactly what they left off in 1944, when they were chased from the country?

Szónyi : I am therefore emphasising the words, „according to my conception” because at the same time I am quite aware now that in its consequences and its further development, in the end it would not have been a bourgeois democratic republic that would have come about, but some new form of the fascist regime, of a bloody rule with practically identical, or similar, consequences as in the past bloody fascist dictatorship. The factory owners would have got back their factories, the estate owners, on the whole, their estates, the bankers the banks, in other words, the Hungarian working people would have been deprived of all the achievements made accessible to them in the people's democracy. A bloody form of capitalist rule would have taken shape in Hungary.

The People's Prosecutor : And what would have happened about the emancipation of women?

Szónyi : Obviously, in time, this too would have been abolished.

The People's Prosecutor : You were a member of the Zionist movement?

Szónyi : As far as I know, Ferenc Vági and György Demeter were members of the Zionist movement. In this connection it is known to me, and I also experienced it in Switzerland, that in general the Zionist movement maintained very close co-operation with the American secret service.

The People's Prosecutor : There is a part of your statement where you mentioned that the Americans were organising certain groups from other peoples' democracies whom they sent across, entrusting the carrying out of spying work to them. In which states did the American spy organisations put such groups, and did you maintain connections with any of them? If so, who were they by name?

Szónyi : In connection with Czechoslovakia, I have certain knowledge that the American intelligence centre built up such a secret organisation there. In particular, I know of it with regard to Pavlik. I kept in touch with Pavlik after my return to Hungary, and I met him.

The People's Prosecutor : Were you in touch with this man Pavlik?

Szónyi : Yes. Apart from this, I know of Pavlik that during his stay in Switzerland he was also in close connection with Kopecky,

the representative in Switzerland of the Czech government then in London...

The People's Prosecutor : With Kopecky?

Szónyi : ... who is not the same as the Minister of Information of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

The People's Prosecutor : And in other countries?

Szónyi : With regard to other countries, I know about such a group in connection with Germany.

The People's Prosecutor : Who were those people?

Szónyi : I know only of one person, called Politzer.

The People's Prosecutor : Is that the Fräulein Politzer, whom you mentioned?

Szónyi : Yes. And I know that in Poland, too, there was a similar contact. I don't know what his name was, though.

The People's Prosecutor : You don't know the names of the persons concerned there?

Szónyi : In addition to that, in all countries where, with Noel Field as intermediary, such aid organisations of the Unitarian Service Committee were set up, these organisations were in reality the cover organisations of the American secret service.

The People's Prosecutor : Actually, they were cover organisations, all right, which in those countries worked in practice as a spying service. Your name originally was Hoffmann?

Szónyi : Yes.

The People's Prosecutor : Did you change it with the permission of the Ministry of Home Affairs?

Szónyi : Yes.

The People's Prosecutor : After the Liberation?

Szónyi : Right after the Liberation.

The People's Prosecutor : I have no other question.

The President : Does the Counsel for the Defence of Dr. Tibor Szónyi have any question? (*No questions.*) Do the Counsels for the Defence of the other accused who have been examined up to now? (*There are no questions.*) You may sit down, Tibor Szónyi. (*Tibor Szónyi returns to his place.*)

Examination of András Szalai

The President : Please lead in the accused András Szalai. András Szalai, did you understand the charges brought against you?

Szalai : Yes, I did.

The President : Do you plead guilty?

Szalai : Yes, I plead guilty.

The President : Tell the court when and how Horthy's police made you an *agent provocateur*.

Szalai : I was connected with the Horthy police. Detective Inspector Réti, the head of the political section of the Pécs police, enrolled me in 1933. Since 1930 I had participated in a Trotskyist Zionist movement, in which I received the sort of anti-working-class education that helped Réti's attempt to enroll me. The way I was enrolled was that in 1932 I was drawn into an illegal Communist movement. The movement fell into the hands of the police and I, too, was arrested. During my arrest I behaved in a cowardly and treacherous way. I gave away the people above and under me in the organisation. With my confession I contributed to the heavy sentence of the people above and under me who were already in custody. My case was handled leniently, as befitted a traitor. I did not appear before the court, only the juvenile court tried my case. During my interrogation Detective Inspector Réti suggested that I should enter the service of the police. I was willing to do this. Later, Réti gave me assignments and I carried out these assignments. Thus in 1934 I had an assignment from Réti to investigate who were the persons who had been left out in the course of the arrest of the communist movement that had been betrayed. I managed to get into the confidence of these persons and told Réti about all those whom I knew. I informed him of their meeting places and their work. Réti had these persons watched and they realised that they were watched. The movement was ruined, they did not engage in further activities, and I must admit that besides many other circumstances this, too, contributed to the fact that in the years following, a strong underground movement could not develop in Pécs.

The President : What further assignments did you get?

Szalai : In 1935 I operated in the engineering factory called Sophiana, as a *provocateur* and police informer.

The President : What was your next assignment?

Szalai : Réti rewarded me for carrying out the assignments. One of his return services was that through him I managed to get a passport on two occasions, which I used for private journeys. In addition, he promised that he would help me to get into the University if I would undertake to inform him of the communist movement in the University. I was willing to carry out this task but I never had to do it, as my circumstances changed, I moved from Pécs and for a while my connections with the political police ceased.

The President : When did you renew your contacts?

Szalai : I next renewed my connections with the political police in 1942, again in connection with an arrest.

The President : Speak of your activities from this time onwards.

Szalai : In 1942, a member of the underground Party called upon me to take part in the work of a communist group. I took part in this work, I was willing to do this at his instance, but there was no chance for me to join the work of the group because this group fell into the hands of the police before I was drawn into it. I, too, fell into the hands of the police, where I again behaved as a traitor. To the police I disclosed my superiors, and to gain their goodwill I gave away even those other members of the group with whom I had actually no connections. To gain the goodwill of the police towards myself, I told gendarme investigator Antal Juhász, who conducted my examination, that communists were operating in the National Youth Committee of the Social Democratic Party. I named the communist leaders who directed this work, Endre Ságvári, László Orbán and Éva Lakos. They were not able to arrest Ságvári and Orbán because they were at this time already in hiding, but with my confession I greatly contributed to the heavy sentence on Éva Lakos, who had fallen into the hands of the police because of another case. At police headquarters my behaviour was again treated indulgently, as befitted a traitor. They did not send me to prison along with the others who had been arrested but separated my case and I was sent to hospital. In the hospital I stayed in bed for four weeks and was very well treated. After four weeks I was sent back to the Andrásy Barracks so that my statements should be taken down. When my deposition was taken down I said that the other members of the National Youth Movement, who had in the meantime been arrested, were also communists. My statement again contributed to

their cases being more severely judged. My case was again handled leniently as befits a traitor and, as a reward for my treachery, I was set free until the trial. In the meantime I was called up for service in a forced labour company. Captain Károly Rugonfalvi Kiss, my commander in the company, knew of my treacherous behaviour and called upon me to be an informer for him, too. I undertook this. I gave him information on all those in our labour company who had been members of the International Brigade as former fighters in Spain, as well as those who did poor work. Károly Rugonfalvi Kiss put both the members of the International Brigade and those I named on to heavier work as a punishment. Later, he rewarded my treachery with a cash payment of a thousand pengős.

The President : And what happened in Sátoraljaújhely?

Szalai : In spite of the fact that I had collaborated with the Horthy police, my case was nevertheless taken to court. In order to conceal my operations as *agent provocateur*, the court sentenced me. After the verdict, Károly Rugonfalvi Kiss did all in his power to postpone the time when I would have to begin my sentence. However, he did not succeed and so I came to the prison in Sátoraljaújhely. In Sátoraljaújhely, a few days after my arrival, Lieutenant Lindenberg, the commander of the prison, established contact with me. He, too, had known of my treacherous behaviour with the police and he suggested that I do similar work for him, holding out the prospect to me that in that case a considerable part of my sentence would be cancelled. I accepted Lindenberg's commission and even in the first days I reported to him what I could learn within a few days in the prison. I reported on the frame of mind of the prisoners, and later on I continuously gave reports on the general atmosphere in connection with events in the prison. Thus I also told him that political literature had come to the prison and was being circulated among the prisoners. Going upon this information, Lindenberg ordered a search and confiscated many books. In order to facilitate my work as an informer, Lindenberg commissioned me to organise the laundry of the prison as a result of which I had complete freedom of movement throughout the whole prison. In January 1944, I informed Lindenberg that the prisoners were planning to break out. Lindenberg commissioned me to find out who were the organisers of the break-out. In March 1944, I told Lindenberg the names of the leaders of the break-out.

The President : What kind of prisoners were organising the break-out?

Szalai : Serbian anti-fascists and communists. The break-out was first initiated by the Serbian prisoners.

The President : They too were political prisoners, not common criminals?

Szalai : Yes. In the Sátoraljaújhely prison, there were political prisoners only, some 400 of them. About half of these were Serbians. Lindenberg took cognisance of my information and as a reward he released me, suspending the rest of my sentence. I was set free on March 11, 1944, and on March 21, the break-out took place, the date of which I naturally could not tell Lindenberg. But the fact that I had called Lindenberg's attention to the fact that the prisoners were planning such a break-out made him alert, he took counter-measures and as a result of the counter-measures the attempted break-out of the prisoners was suppressed. Not a single man could break away and escape, the break-out of the prisoners was drowned in blood. Fifty-four were shot in the course of the break-out, ten more were court-martialled and executed after the break-out. This was my activity with the Horthy police.

The President : Now tell us, when you reported that attempt to break out, were you aware of the consequences it might have?

Szalai : I was not exactly aware of what the consequences might be, as I did not even know the exact date. However, the fact that I told Lindenberg the plan of the break-out and the names of its leaders, was at any rate very grave treason on my part.

The President : What I mean is : were you aware that human lives would be sacrificed.

Szalai : I was not exactly aware of that, but I knew that Lindenberg would prevent the break-out. In what form this prevention would take place, I, of course, could not know in advance.

The President : Who organised you as an agent of the Yugoslav intelligence service? Speak about that now!

Szalai : After the Liberation, I concealed my past treacherous activities from the Party, so I was admitted to the ranks of the Party. I got an important job, I became an official at the National Centre, I worked in the propaganda department. The Yugoslav intelligence service organised me in the spring of 1946. The organisation was carried out by Major Smiljanich, who was in the country in the capacity of a member of the Yugoslav Military Mission. Smiljanich carried out my recruitment in his official premises, at No. 14 Jávör-utca.

There were three reasons which made my recruitment possible. The first reason was that on account of my official work, I got in touch with Major Smiljanich, the second reason was that I myself sympathised with Tito's Yugoslavia, and the third reason was that Smiljanich and his company became acquainted with my treacherous

activities in the Sátoraljaújhely prison, and Smiljanich threatened that he would inform both the Yugoslav and Hungarian authorities about it if I did not fulfill all the wishes they put forward.

The President : Apart from Smiljanich, with which Yugoslav official representatives in Hungary did you get in touch?

Szalai : Apart from Smiljanich, I only got in touch with Major Brankov from among the Yugoslav official representatives.

The President : Now speak about the nature of the espionage tasks you were given by the persons you mentioned, Smiljanich and Brankov?

Szalai : I got the following task from Smiljanich : first to collect actual news material, second to carry out political propaganda activities, third to place the agents of Yugoslav intelligence organs indicated by Smiljanich into different state and economic positions.

The President : From whom did you receive these orders?

Szalai : I was given these tasks by Major Smiljanich. Smiljanich was especially interested in Hungarian domestic political conditions. He was greatly interested in the strength of the political parties, the relationships of the political parties to each other. Major Smiljanich was interested in the fulfillment of the Three Year Plan and asked questions on how and in what way Hungarian industry was developing. In August 1947, I handed over material to Smiljanich about the preparations for the coming elections, and after the elections about the course of the elections. I also handed over material to Smiljanich in the autumn of 1947 about the number of workers in our industrial enterprises and mining enterprises that had already been nationalised. I was in contact with Smiljanich from the spring of 1946 until the end of 1947. I informed him continually about these, about the strength of the Party, about the resolutions of the Party Organisation Committee. These were the materials I handed over to Smiljanich from the spring of 1946 until the end of 1947.

The President : How did you become acquainted with these items?

Szalai : By making use of my official position.

The President : Which official position?

Szalai : My work in the propaganda department of the Communist Party Centre. That is how I obtained possession of the material and delivered this material to Smiljanich. Smiljanich gave me a task in the sphere of political propaganda work, too. What was this political propaganda work? Smiljanich told me that I should use my official position and organise lectures in the whole country to

popularise Yugoslavia, partly delivering these lectures myself and partly by directing the state propaganda organs to deliver similar lectures. The aim of the lectures was not to popularise the heroic fight of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but solely and exclusively — as I was instructed by Smiljanich — to popularise the political conditions in Tito's Yugoslavia and the persons of the Tito leaders. Smiljanich not only supplied me with precise material so that I should be able to carry out this task, but gave me a political explanation of what line the lectures should follow. The Danube federation was the basic thought behind his political ideas. He expressly said as far back as 1946 that the peoples' democratic countries must rely on Yugoslavia and not on the Soviet Union. He expressly said that it was the task of the peoples' democratic countries to strengthen Yugoslavia economically and to develop her economically. And, inside the peoples' democracies — as he openly said — the foremost task of Hungary's industry was not the reconstruction of the country, but the overfulfilment of the Yugoslav reparations plan, as well as the duty of serving as the basis of the Yugoslav five year plan.

It became clear to me from Smiljanich's political explanations that he closely observed those transitory difficulties which became evident in the development of Hungarian democracy in 1946 and 1947. He used all these to prove to me that it was not worth while building a country where such transitory difficulties existed. That country had to be built where the people's democracy was most highly developed, that is, Yugoslavia — as Smiljanich pointed out to me — and that Hungarian industry should build Yugoslavia was not only in the interests of Hungary but, in Smiljanich's view, in the common interest of all the peoples' democracies.

Smiljanich also spoke a lot about relations with the Soviet Union and set me the task of making the lectures serve to reorientate the inhabitants of Hungary from their pro-Soviet to a pro-Yugoslav feeling. Smiljanich did everything he could to put Yugoslavia in the place of the Soviet Union before the masses of the Hungarian people.

The President : What other espionage assignments did you receive?

Szalai : Smiljanich assigned me the task of putting up Anton Rob, an agent of the Yugoslav secret service and the head of the Federation of South Slavs, for election in 1947 in a place where he would be absolutely certain to get into the Hungarian Parliament. I told Smiljanich that I could only carry out this task if I held a position in the Party where I had some say in the nomination of

members. Smiljanich then gave me instructions to take the necessary steps to be transferred from the propaganda department to the cadres department. I accepted Smiljanich's assignment. I became a member of the cadre council which was responsible for the compilation of the list of candidates in 1947. I used my position to nominate Anton Rob for the list where his election seemed assured. Smiljanich also gave me instructions as far as other persons were concerned. So I had to place József Hegedüs, who was a captain in the police force, in the Reparations Office. This Smiljanich considered especially important because in this way he could see the work of the Reparations Office directly, through his organised agent and also get direct information about the people who were mainly concerned with Yugoslav reparations.

The President : You also received special spying assignments from Brankov. What were they?

Szalai : Brankov, in December 1947, turned directly to me and gave me the instructions that I should transfer the same József Hegedüs whom I had a few months before, on Smiljanich's instructions, placed in the Reparations Office, to the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society as a member of the leadership of the society because the Yugoslav intelligence were strongly interested in this. I carried out this assignment.

The President : What other task did you get and what did you carry out?

Szalai : I received other assignments which I carried out through Anton Rob. I reported to Brankov first of all on the approaching election of officials in the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society and on the persons whom I knew had been nominated as officials in the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society.

The President : On what else did you report?

Szalai : Anton Rob considered it very important that I should pick out very carefully those who would be elected to the executive committee of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society, for as Anton Rob explained to me, in Brankov's opinion the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society had to be developed to make it stronger and more influential than the Hungarian-Soviet Cultural Society.

The President : Enough of this. What espionage assignment did you fulfill?

Szalai : I carried out espionage assignments at Brankov's request and through Anton Rob. I reported on the nationalisations which occurred in the spring of 1948.

The President : How did you get hold of these data?

Szalai : I took advantage of my official position to inform Brankov and his associates through Anton Rob of the secret resolution of the Council of Ministers. After the nationalisation I gave detailed reports on the process of the nationalisation and about those persons who had been appointed to leading posts in the industrial directories and centres. I also received other instructions from Brankov which I carried out through Anton Rob. This task was to sound what was the plan which the Party was actually considering in connection with the resolution of the Information Bureau — at the time preceding the resolution. I was at a confidential meeting where we were informed of the draft of the coming resolution of the Information Bureau. I admit that I made this material available to Brankov through Anton Rob. After the resolution of the Information Bureau Anton Rob, as is known, escaped from the country. After his escape the most important work of the Yugoslav intelligence was the meeting for the election of officers in the Federation of South Slavs, because, as a result of Anton Rob's escape, the office of General Secretary in the Federation of South Slavs became vacant. Sebljanich was extraordinarily interested in knowing what were the plans following Anton Rob's escape, who, as Sebljanich told me, had on Brankov's directions used the whole Yugoslav intelligence organisation to send the agents of the intelligence organisations to parts of the country with a South Slav population, in order to turn the South Slav population against the Hungarian government by delivering lectures in secret and holding secret meetings. Their plan did not materialise, although they mobilised all their intelligence agents known to me, including Grunčich, Ognjenovich, Karagich, Maria Vidakovich. The majority of the South Slav population agreed with the resolution of the Information Bureau. I told Sebljanich that the South Slavs who agreed with the resolution of the Information Bureau wanted to propose Miloš Moich for the post of General Secretary. On hearing this name, Sebljanich became extremely excited and told me to wait with this. He would discuss this question with the Legation, with Brankov. He left and after a short while he reported again. He told me that he had discussed the question of Miloš Moich's candidature with Brankov. Brankov had told him that the Legation in Budapest considered Miloš Moich an enemy of Tito and that Miloš Moich would risk his life if he accepted the nomination of the South Slavs who agreed with the resolution of the Information Bureau. Two days after this conversation, Miloš Moich was murdered in his flat. It was obvious to me that only the Yugoslav Legation in Budapest could have committed the murder.

The President : What information did you convey to Sebljanich?

Szalai : I handed over to Sebljanich a list of addresses. They needed the addresses because — as Sebljanich told me — after they had failed to instigate the South Slavs to take a stand against the Hungarian Government, the Yugoslav Legation wanted to apply new means in order to create dissatisfaction with the Hungarian government among a part of the Hungarian people. This means was the postal distribution of news material, propaganda material and printed matter all of which came across the frontier from Yugoslavia illegally.

The President : What other material did you convey to him?

Szalai : Character sketches of two minor employees whom the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wanted to send to the Legation in Belgrade. Sebljanich feared that the Hungarian authorities might expose him and without giving me notice he left the country overnight. For a few weeks I was left without a contact, and then came Brankov's ostensible change of sides which he disclosed to me, and from that time on, it was Brankov in person who maintained contact...

The President : Tell us now of your common activity after Brankov's change of sides.

Szalai : I supplied news material for Brankov concerning the provisions taken by our state defence organs to strengthen the frontier and to make it impossible to put Yugoslav agents across the frontier. In January 1949, I informed him in what way the cleansing was being carried out in the Hungarian Working People's Party. In April 1949, I also informed Brankov of certain changes taking place in the organisation of the army, of the introduction of the institution of political officers, and of the creation of a political department. In May 1949, immediately preceding our arrest, I informed Brankov of the preparations for the coming elections. Brankov advised me to establish contact with József Rex who was working in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and who was also an organised agent of the Yugoslav secret service. Through this channel, Brankov had obtained material which revealed to him the structural organisation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, giving insight into certain diplomatic steps which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was planning to undertake at the Legation in Belgrade. On one occasion Brankov gave instructions to me that I should, through my official position, supply him through the Press Department of the Prime Minister's Office with the daily papers, the *Borba* and other daily papers from Yugoslavia.

Brankov pressed me to use my official position to enable him to establish contact with the Hungarian authorities along the frontier so as to build up a direct contact with Yugoslavia. He advised me to explain this plan of his to the Hungarian authorities as though he needed it to send anti-Tito pamphlets to Yugoslavia. I called on the department concerned in the Ministry of Home Affairs which was concerned, and raised this question there. The reply of the Ministry of Home Affairs was that Hungarian authorities did not engage in putting illegal material across the frontier. I conveyed to Brankov this reply of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Brankov was most dissatisfied that I was unable to carry out this task.

The President : What do you know of Tibor Szőnyi's harmful cadres policy which in essence was similar to the cadres policy pursued by you?

Szalai : Tibor Szőnyi also placed members of his group into various posts of the state and economic life through me. It was for instance through me that, after the nationalisations, György Demeter was appointed manager of the Danuvia works. I know that in December 1948, on two occasions, Tibor Szőnyi received information from the Danuvia concerning the problems of the plant and that this information included also how far the plant could be utilised for war work. It was evident that no such material, no such information, was needed to do cadres work. Not only Demeter was placed in understanding with Szőnyi, but also Iván Földi whom we placed in the MASZOVOL (Hungarian-Soviet Oil Company), where he did wrecking work and, knowing of his wrecking work, we put him to another job in a communications plant. Together we placed László Forgács who had come back from Chile. After the exposure of the MAORT sabotage, he came to work there, becoming technical head of that huge plant. Although we were informed of Forgács's wrecking work at the MAORT, yet we decided that László Forgács should stay on with the MAORT. It was also upon Szőnyi's instructions that I had the German Trotskyite Kuncz, who returned from Sweden, assigned as head of the commercial delegation in Germany. The German Socialist Unity Party opposed the assignment to Germany of this notorious Trotskyite. Thereupon, according to an agreement with Szőnyi, Kuncz was sent to Poland as commercial attaché.

The President : That is to say, you and Szőnyi pursued a cadres policy which actually had common aims.

Szalai : Yes.

The President : What was the common aim and common character of your cadres policy?

Szalai : The common character of our cadres policy implied that both of us placed wreckers in various posts in the economic and state life.

The President : You endeavoured to place elements detrimental to the Hungarian people's democratic order into leading posts in the state and economic life. Do the People's Judges have any questions? (*None*) Does the People's Prosecutor have any?

The People's Prosecutor : I have some questions. When you were in the Sátoraljahújhely prison, there you knew well that the break-out, if exposed, would have consequences. What did you think? What consequences could a break-out have if the anti-fascists who took to arms should fall into the hands of fascists?

Szalai : I did not presume that the break-out would be suppressed by arms but rather that they would take prison measures and prevent it.

The People's Prosecutor : But you knew very well that in order to destroy them they would no doubt let them break out. In 1944 there were such phenomena.

Szalai : I did not think this over in this way, I was certain that by the application of prison measures the break-out could be prevented.

The People's Prosecutor : This so-called break-out, this rising, had 64 victims, fifty-four who were shot and ten who were sent to the gallows. All this was an unlawful execution of those who took part in the rising of anti-fascists. Did you not take this into account?

Szalai : I did not take this into account.

The People's Prosecutor : On the occasion of your discharge from forced labour you received a certain sum.

Szalai : Yes.

The People's Prosecutor : How much was it?

Szalai : I received one thousand pengős.

The People's Prosecutor : This is the only sum of this kind that men of the forced labour service received from the heads of the forced labour service. During my whole activity as a Prosecutor, this is the first case of which I have heard. Did the others in your company receive such amounts?

Szalai : I don't know of it.

The People's Prosecutor : This was a kind of blood money.

Szalai : One cannot talk of blood money as no blood was attached to it, but it is evident that I received that thousand pengős as a reward for my treacherous attitude.

The People's Prosecutor : It was a prize for treason. In the Hungarian Communist Party you co-operated with persons whom you denounced. Tell us, how could you deceive these people?

Szalai : I concealed from them my treacherous attitude.

The People's Prosecutor : Was the mere concealment enough for that?

Szalai : I did good work in order to win their confidence.

The People's Prosecutor : It was good work . . . Was this not rather hypocrisy?

Szalai : It was hypocrisy. Good work . . .

The People's Prosecutor : Deceit.

Szalai : It was deceit.

The People's Prosecutor : Treason.

Szalai : It was treason.

The People's Prosecutor : So this was your activity. I have no more questions.

The President : Does the Defence have any questions? (*None*). Return to your seat, András Szalai.

Examination of Milan Ognjenovich

The President has Milan Ognjenovich brought in.

The President : Did you understand the charge?

Ognjenovich : Yes, I understood it.

The President : Do you plead guilty?

Ognjenovich : I admit that I am guilty.

The President : Tell us when and by whom you were organised to become an agent of the Yugoslav intelligence service?

Ognjenovich : At the beginning of May, 1948, by Josip Blažich, head of the Yugoslav Consulate, who was actually a Yugoslav intelligence agent in Hungary and who, under the cover of diplomacy, carried on work against the Hungarian Government, in Hungary. He called me to the Yugoslav Legation and there he enrolled me into the organisation of the Yugoslav intelligence.

The President : Apart from Blažich, with whom else of the official Yugoslav representatives in Hungary did you have connections?

Ognjenovich : With Blažich, then with Brankov, through Brankov with the Yugoslav Minister Mrazovich, then, when Blažich was expelled from Hungary, Dušan Devečich arrived and I was in contact with him.

The President : What spying or other wrecking tasks were assigned to you by these official Yugoslav persons?

Ognjenovich : After my organisation I got the task from Blažich of using my job as secretary of the South Slavs to organise a large-scale network of espionage in the South Slav territories for the Yugoslav intelligence service. Blažich appointed Metia Kovačich, the teacher at Bajaszentistván, then Miloš Rockov, the teacher at Bácsalmás, Jovan Grunčich, the teacher at the village of Olasz, then Miša Makušich, a kulak from Alsószentmárton and Milan Šuput in Mohács. After that I got orders from Blažich to spread the anti-government illegal press material which arrived from Yugoslavia and to collect material about the situation in Hungary. When Blažich was expelled from the territory of Hungary, Dušan Devečich arrived. Dušan Devečich demanded that I should carry out wrecking

activities against the Hungarian Government, that I should travel to Pécs and there win the greatest possible number of the members of the leadership and officials of the Hungarian Working People's Party for Tito's policy. I had to carry out this work especially in the Pécs mining district.

The President : Did you not get the task of spreading Yugoslav chauvinist literature?

Ognjenovich : Yes. At the same time I got instructions from Devečich that I should distribute the Hungarian anti-government press material in Baranya, near Pécs, especially in the South Slav villages near the frontier, and develop pro-Tito propaganda as well. This press material I had to receive from Devečich before my departure on the next day, at the Yugoslav Legation.

The President : You reported to Blažich that the Hungarian authorities summoned you. Do you remember something about this?

Ognjenovich : On June 11, 1948, the Hungarian authorities arrested me together with several South Slav leaders in connection with the Boarov murder, the Moich affair. After arrest and seven days in custody they set me free, but I was not allowed to leave Budapest without permission. When I again entered into contact with Blažich, I of course told him of this. But Blažich, nevertheless, asked me to go to the South Slav villages and illegally distribute the anti-government press materials there which had arrived from Yugoslavia, and to collect material about the political and economic situation in Hungary. I could not carry this out then because I was afraid and I did not want to be arrested again.

The President : After that you got a directive that the leadership of the Federation of South Slavs should be called together. Do you remember something like that?

Ognjenovich : That happened after the resolution of the Information Bureau had appeared. After the resolution had appeared, I did not know what to do because the Hungarian authorities summoned me the next day in order to make a statement in connection with the resolution of the Information Bureau. I then went to the Yugoslav Legation and asked for further instructions from Blažich.

The President : And did you tell that to Blažich? You also told him, did you not, that you had to call together the leadership of the Federation of South Slavs?

Ognjenovich : Yes.

The President : And you reported that also to the Yugoslav Legation in advance.

Ognjenovich : I went to the Yugoslav Legation to look for Blažich. I didn't find Blažich. Then Brankov, the first counsellor

of the Yugoslav Legation, received me there and I told him about the purpose of my visit and that I had been summoned by the Hungarian authorities for the next day to make a statement in connection with the resolution of the Information Bureau. Brankov gave me the instructions then that I should tell the Hungarian authorities that the Federation of South Slavs did not want, in its capacity as a cultural union, to take part in any ideological discussions and that therefore it would adopt a neutral standpoint on this question. It would not take up a position against Tito's policy, but it would not take up a position on the side of the resolution of the Information Bureau, either. Obviously this was only a manoeuvre of Brankov's, for Brankov gave me definite instructions that the Federation of South Slavs should support Tito's policy in Hungary. He even added that from today I should inform them every day about what efforts the Federation of South Slavs were prepared to make further to popularise and strengthen Tito's policy in Hungary. Brankov also gave me instructions to inform him of everything, what efforts the Hungarian authorities were making to win the Federation of South Slavs and its members for the resolution of the Information Bureau and against Tito's policy. The next day I acted according to Brankov's instructions.

The President : Now, wait a little. Brankov even dictated a resolution to you, did he not?

Ognjenovich : I beg your pardon?

The President : Brankov even dictated a resolution to you about what kind of resolution they should accept.

Ognjenovich : Yes, but that was on the following day when I and the Hungarian...

The President : Well, speak about that now, about the resolution which Brankov dictated to you then.

Ognjenovich : When I informed the Hungarian authorities about the neutral attitude of the Federation of South Slavs, they asked me to call a meeting of the leadership of the Federation of South Slavs finally to reach a decision on the resolution of the Information Bureau. I immediately went to the Yugoslav Legation to report to Brankov on this. Mrazovich, the Yugoslav Minister in Budapest, and Blažich were there together with Brankov. They praised me highly for my behaviour towards the Hungarian authorities and when I told them that we would call together the leadership of the Federation of South Slavs in two days' time, I was told jointly by Brankov and Mrazovich that we should, under no circumstances, permit the Hungarian authorities to participate in the meeting, and if they did put in an appearance, they would have to be turned

away from the meeting. Then Brankov dictated to me the resolution which I had to get accepted at all costs. Roughly, the resolution stated that, as we were a cultural organisation, we would not get mixed up in the ideological argument, and as such would not condemn Tito's policy but would adopt a neutral attitude.

The President : Did Brankov not include something else in this proposed resolution which he dictated? Was there no mention of Anton Rob?

Ognjenovich : Yes, there was. Brankov also dictated in this proposed resolution that we should reclaim the parliamentary mandate of Anton Rob who had illegally fled from Hungary to Yugoslavia.

Mrazovich then invited me to lunch. Mrazovich, Brankov and, to my surprise, Rob, who had been hiding in the Yugoslav legation for three days, were present at the lunch. I heard Brankov say that he had to be passed across the frontier that evening and I heard later that they did get him across the Yugoslav frontier.

The President : Well, and now say something about what provocative actions and missions you carried out again on Lazar Brankov's instructions in the Democratic Federation of the South Slavs of Hungary?

Ognjenovich : Brankov instructed me to manage the meeting in such a way and to organise it so that the Hungarian authorities could not take part, and if they should nevertheless participate, they would have to be turned out.

The President : You have already told us about that. Anything else?

Ognjenovich : I organised this meeting. When the Hungarian authorities arrived for the meeting I was not able to turn them away. The chairman welcomed them and they were present at the meeting during the course of the morning. We adjourned the meeting with the intention of continuing in the afternoon and of passing a resolution then I went to the Yugoslav Legation at noon to tell Brankov about this. As I started to tell Brankov about the happenings, Mrazovich rushed in and together with Brankov they went for me. I promised them that we would pass the resolution in the afternoon and would expel the Hungarian authorities.

When the meeting opened in the afternoon the person delegated by the Hungarian authorities put in an appearance. We expelled him from the meeting and accepted the resolution which Brankov had dictated to me at the Yugoslav Legation.

The President : When, and what sort of financial benefits, money or monetary return did you receive from members of the Yugoslav Legation for your activities?

Ognjenovich : On several occasions I received cash in return for my work from the Yugoslav intelligence, especially when I was unemployed. At the end of August, I got 800 forints, at the end of September, 300, at the beginning of October and the end of October 300 forints each time. These last three sums I drew from the cashier of the Yugoslav Legation against a receipt.

The President : Do the People's Judges have any questions? Does the People's Prosecutor have any?

The People's Prosecutor : I have no questions.

The President : Has the Counsel for Defence any questions? (None.) Sit down.

Examination of Béla Korondy

The President : Béla Korondy, stand here. Did you understand the charges brought against you?

Korondy : Yes, I did.

The President : Do you plead guilty?

Korondy : Yes, I do.

The President : Tell us in what rank, in what capacity and for how long you served in the gendarmerie during the Horthy regime?

Korondy : I joined the gendarmerie in 1939 as a lieutenant, after I had completed the Ludovica Academy and the gendarmerie course. Until 1942 I was stationed at various places in the provinces and from 1942 on I served as an adjutant to the deputy head of the State Defence Centre in Budapest. During this time at the gendarmerie a strong chauvinist political ideology developed in me and I got used to fulfilling the commands of my superiors without thinking.

The President : After the Liberation you got into the frontier guard, didn't you?

Korondy : Yes.

The President : You were given a certain assignment in the frontier guard. Speak about this activity of yours. To what extent do you consider it criminal and subversive?

Korondy : In August, 1945, I was first put into the military political department where I saw that there were chauvinist and anti-democratic officers of conceptions similar to mine in key positions, moreover the head of the department, György Pálffy, then Colonel, later Major-General, was also of bourgeois origin, a former staff officer of the old Horthy army, who trained his subordinates in an anti-democratic spirit, turning towards the imperialist countries. Here I first became the head of the second section and here on Pálffy's instructions I became active in clearing the officers of the Horthy army who had returned from the West. We started proceedings only against those officers whose guilt was generally known, we cleared the rest and these were later placed into various

appointments in the army by György Pálffy. Later, in the spring of 1946, I was put to the headquarters of the frontier guard, where as the head of department Ib. I followed a similar policy and I recommended for the frontier guard, which then constituted the main part of the army, old Horthy army officers, former staff officers, ex-gendarme officers, who were actually appointed by Pálffy to the frontier guard, so that most of the higher ranks of the frontier guard, from battalion commanders to company commanders became filled with our chauvinist-minded officers. In the spring of 1946, when there was a general dismissal of staff, I received instructions from György Pálffy to compile a list of those officers who would have been put on the dismissal list but who were our men and whom we did not want to put on the list. I compiled this list and they were then exempted from the dismissal list by Pálffy and were allowed to remain in the army.

The general lines of my and Pálffy's activities in the military political department and at the headquarters of the frontier police were to save the largest possible number of Horthy army officers from being brought to account, and to place them in various positions in the democratic army. Our intention was to use them, if it was to come to that, against the democratic regime. With my attitude and activities I was able to win Pálffy's confidence, and so in November, 1946, when Rajk from the Ministry of Home Affairs asked for an officer to organise the armed units of the police, he recommended me.

The President : So this is how you were transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

Korondy : Yes.

The President : Tell me about how you continued in the Ministry of Home Affairs the activities you had already started within the Ministry of Defence?

Korondy : In November, 1946, I was transferred to the Ministry of Home Affairs. I found a similar situation there as in the frontier police and the military political department. The leading positions were held by former officers of the gendarmerie and the police who had spread an entirely anti-democratic Anglo-Saxon spirit and I saw that Rajk did the same within the police as Pálffy did within the army, that is, he was shaping an armed force which could be used at any time, for armed intervention against the democratic system. Rajk appointed me to the leadership of the armed police forces sub-department, my task was to organise formations of the armed police force. He gave me instructions to place

former officers of the police, the army and the gendarmerie in these formations and to spread, with their help, such a spirit as we needed in these formations, that is, anti-democratic and chauvinist. On Rajk's instructions we drew agitators of the NÉKOSz college into this work and connected them in the closest way with our various battalions.

In the spring of 1947 I was instructed by Rajk to organise a special, motorised, highly mobile battalion. I did organise the battalion, it was formed. This battalion got its training cadre, its officers and warrant officers from Pálffy, from the frontier guard. These were all officers and warrant officers of the old Horthy army with whose help we succeeded in instilling a chauvinist and anti-democratic spirit in the battalion and more than that, we increased the personal cult of Rajk as far as possible in order that the members of the police should consider him as their national leader whatever happened. This battalion represented a serious armed force which, at that time, with its heavy arms and motorised units, was able independently to solve any military task in Hungary.

It was this battalion which Rajk could count on in the first place in the event of a putsch. To build up this anti-democratic spirit we even published text-books for the police, copying the text-books of the old gendarmerie and police and at the beginning of 1948, compiling the material of the basic examination which was compulsory for all police officers from the text-books, so that the new police officers could not pass the examination and could be removed from the police force. Through our activities we succeeded in making the training units of the police into an important armed force and because of their convictions they could at any time be utilised against the democracy and the democratic regime.

The President : When and who brought you into the conspiracy against the Hungarian Government, against the Hungarian state order?

Korondy : In March 1948, I had worked in the Ministry of Home Affairs for one and a half years. László Rajk summoned me on one occasion to report to him. He asked for information on the strength of the armed police units, where they were stationed, the stage of their training and aptitude for education. When I had concluded my report he asked me emphatically, so that one could feel that this was important, whether I was willing to fulfil his personal orders and commands. When I replied in the affirmative, he informed me that he was preparing an armed putsch against the democratic government and his intention was for me to organise a special detachment, with whose help I could arrest the members

of the Government, in the first place, Ministers Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő. Because of our earlier collaboration, Rajk's statement did not particularly surprise me and I answered him that I was willing to do this. Rajk did not give me details on this occasion. The conversation was quite a short one and he told me that if it were to come to this move I would receive instructions from him in good time.

The President : What do you know about the aims of this conspiracy, the conspiracy about which, according to your statement, you heard from Rajk on that occasion?

Korondy : I knew about the aim of the conspiracy, that its plan and aim was to remove the Government through an armed putsch, to arrest the Ministers Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő, physically to eliminate them should they resist, and to seize power; once in possession of power to restore the old bourgeois capitalist system, to return the estates to the old landowners, the factories to the factory owners, the banks to the bankers, to reinstall the officers and warrant officers of the gendarmerie, the police and the Horthy army, and to intimidate with acts of terrorism the workers who were certain to express their dissatisfaction, especially in the overwhelmingly working-class districts — Diósgyőr, Salgótarján and Ózd.

The President : Who was the leader of this conspiracy at home and abroad? Pálffy?

Korondy : Yes, in the main. I was brought into the conspiracy by Rajk and Pálffy, I received my instructions from them.

The President : Yes. György Pálffy, step forward (*the accused steps to the microphone*). Did you hear what Béla Korondy has said, about what was the aim of the conspiracy of which you too were one of the leaders?

Pálffy : Yes, I heard.

The President : Is this the truth?

Pálffy : Yes, it is the truth.

The President : So you too were aware of this?

Pálffy : Yes, I was quite aware that such a course, once taken, does not stop half-way, especially as I knew that in the general situation after the Second World War there were no lukewarm, middle ways — either, or — and such a change in Hungarian political life, having a bourgeois democratic aim, whether we wanted it or not would lead us right back to Horthy fascism. And I was also aware that such a return to Horthy fascism would not only mean political and economic changes in relation to the given situation, primarily against the working class, but also a brutal police suppression characteristic of fascism against the workers. I was aware of that.

The President : Return to your seat. (*to Korondy*). In answer to my question about who was the leader of the conspiracy at home, you mentioned first of all Pálffy.

Korondy : I was first drawn into the conspiracy by László Rajk, then later on György Pálffy also contacted me.

The President : Who was the foreign directing brain and instigator? Do you know something about that?

Korondy : In April, 1949, Pálffy told me that the Titoite leaders in Yugoslavia also knew about the plan for a conspiracy, that they promised armed assistance in case of a putsch and this would certainly guarantee our success. Anyway, I had personal experiences that László Rajk was in touch with the Titoite leaders in Yugoslavia, because in 1947, when we went to Kelebia after Tito had been in Budapest, and boarded the special Yugoslav train together with Rajk, Rajk asked the Yugoslav Lieutenant-Colonel who was in charge of security to lead him to Rankovich. This in fact happened. Rajk was absent for a considerable time and then came back. The next day, during the hunt, I myself saw that Rajk spoke to Minister Djilas for about 20-30 minutes. This confirmed to me what György Pálffy had said.

The President : Yes. What duties were personally assigned to you as a participant in this conspiracy?

Korondy : From Rajk I received the assignment, which was his plan, that I should organise a special detachment of former gendarmes, police and army officers with whose help the members of the Government, in the first place Ministers Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas, would be arrested. György Pálffy supplemented these instructions in April, 1949, by saying that, in addition to the duties assigned to me by Rajk, it would be my task to take over the command of the armed police forces and to occupy the more important objectives in Budapest, the Hungarian Working People's Party Centre, the post office, telegraph office, the radio, railway stations, and the ministries with this special armed police force. And Pálffy specially emphasised that if our own forces, that is the armed police force, were not sufficient to carry out this task, a special army detachment kept in reserve by him would be at my disposal. In connection with this, at this discussion Pálffy also talked to me about the execution of the arrest of the members of the Government. He told me that it would be a good thing to establish their whereabouts by watching their movements beforehand, and then we would place them under arrest, during the night, at one time, simultaneously.

The President : Did this refer to all members of the Government?

Korondy : Yes, but it was especially stressed in our conversation that should Ministers Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő try to offer resistance, then arms should be used.

The President : When did you last speak to Rajk?

Korondy : I last spoke to Rajk in October 1948, in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On this occasion Rajk told me that it was important that I should retain my post in the police force because his plans in connection with the conspiracy had not changed and I was needed at the police to carry them out.

The President : What was your plan, and how did you intend to carry this out, in performing acts of terrorism against the Government, that is, against some of its members?

Korondy : I wanted to organise a detachment of my old acquaintances, officers of the gendarmerie, police and army. I wanted to keep a watch on the movements of the members of the Government, and then at night, at one time, simultaneously to carry out their arrest. Should Ministers Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas resist, then they would be physically annihilated.

The President : And the other members of the Government, should they resist?

Korondy : It is certain that it would have come to the use of arms if they had resisted.

The President : Then why was it necessary to put the stress on Ministers Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas?

Korondy : Because they were the people who had definitely to be removed so that our armed uprising should succeed.

The President : But you say that you also wanted to arrest the others !

Korondy : Yes.

The President : Well, if you wanted to arrest all the members of the Government and in case of resistance you also intended to use arms against all of them — if this would have been the case, then there would have been no need to put special emphasis on the persons of Ministers Rákosi, Gerő and Farkas as persons who were to be physically annihilated. This is contradictory to your defence.

Korondy : Actually, the persons of Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő were specially emphasised because, in their case, arms would have had to be used in case of the slightest resistance, while the other members of the Government had only to be arrested. These were my instructions.

The President : Have the People's Judges any questions to put? (None.) Has the People's Prosecutor any questions to put?

The People's Prosecutor : I have a question. You have just said that your orders from Pálffy, that is from Rajk, were to use arms immediately the slightest resistance was evident. Now tell us exactly what that "slightest resistance" is?

Korondy : Well, if he says for instance that he is not willing to follow immediately those who are arresting him.

The People's Prosecutor : That is to say, a verbal refusal would have meant that?

Korondy : Yes.

The People's Prosecutor : In fact this was therefore a disguise for the immediate aim of the command, physical liquidation?

Korondy : Yes. Physical liquidation was the aim of the command.

The People's Prosecutor : Did you leave the Ludovica Academy in 1939?

Korondy : Yes, in 1939.

The People's Prosecutor : Now it is 1949. If you had remained in the gendarmerie, you would obviously not be a colonel today?

Korondy : No, I would be a major.

The People's Prosecutor : So this system gave you a great deal. Why did you, despite this, want to raise your hand against the most prominent among the leaders of the regime, the most important among them?

Korondy : As I said in my statement, a strong chauvinist political conviction developed in me through my being in the gendarmerie and through my education, to which my action of taking part in the conspiracy absolutely conformed.

The People's Prosecutor : Yes. In fact you would have repaid the advantage which this regime bestowed on you, with this. I have no further question.

The President : Has the Defence any questions to put?

Counsel for Defence Ferenc Alács : Perhaps in the course of the presentation of the proof.

The President : Korondy, sit down. Bring in Pál Justus.

Examination of Pál Justus

The President : Pál Justus! Did you understand the charges?

Justus : I understood the charges.

The President : Do you admit your guilt?

Justus : I admit my guilt and I sincerely regret what I have done.

The President : First say something about when and under what circumstances Péter Hain made you into a Horthy police informer?

Justus : The events leading up to this were the following. I already professed to Trotskyist convictions in 1930-31, the essence of which was my struggle against the Soviet Union and the Communist Party. I not only spread these views through lectures and personal agitation, but formed a Trotskyist organisation called "Opposition" in 1930. This organisation saw its main activity in the struggle against the illegal communist movement. In order that the members of this organisation could continue this struggle more effectively, I and the others under my influence slandered the Soviet Union and tried to shake the confidence of the revolutionary workers in the Soviet Union and the communists. As a result of the fact that the activities of the organisation were exclusively directed against the illegal Communist Party, the Horthy police not only tolerated this movement, but even supported it with benevolence, and while they allowed me and my colleagues to work with a seemingly most radical phraseology, at the same time they most brutally persecuted the Communist Party. Looking at all this today, I see clearly that it means that I was, in fact, an ally and a tool of the Horthy police before I was actually organised. The organisation itself happened in this way: I was arrested for the second time by the political police in August, 1932, at a flat in Nagymező street where in the main intellectuals, petty bourgeois elements, came together. I myself was present at this meeting which was raided by the police under Péter Hain's personal leadership. Hain, who had examined me when I was first arrested months before, recognised me immediately although that first examination had been very brief. After all the others were released after examination, I was specially summoned to Péter Hain

in his study, and there he told me that although it was possible for him to have me seriously punished and otherwise threatened me, despite this, he would not do this if I were willing to supply regular reports to the police. This ... (*he thinks for a moment*) this suggestion I accepted partly under the influence of the threat, and partly because — as I say, I see it clearly today — my previous activities had, in fact, made me an ally of the Horthy political police. Then Hain had me sign a short written statement which said that I pledged myself to inform the police of all acts against the state which came to my knowledge.

The President : Say something about whom you betrayed, which members of the underground revolutionary movement you denounced to the political police, once you were organised in this way.

Justus (after hesitating for a while): I was abroad from the end of 1932 to 1936. I returned in the summer of 1936 and I received instructions from the political police that I should first of all make a report about the work of communists and communist sympathisers, especially about those who were working, using the legal status of the Social Democratic Party and the various workers' cultural organisations. In my reports I mentioned by name the communists or communist sympathisers working in the fifth and sixth district social democratic movement.

The President : And after that?

Justus : When Péter Hain summoned me for the first time in 1932 to make a report to him, I told him that, as I had lost my job in Budapest, it was my plan to move to Paris and to work there as a journalist.

The President : Let us leave for now your Paris trip. Tell us systematically about your denouncements in Hungary, as you started to do before.

Justus : I returned home in 1936, as I said, from abroad, and my first assignment was to get acquainted, after my long absence abroad, with the Hungarian political situation and the situation of the working-class movement, and first to report on the work of the workers' cultural organisations, that is about the communists and sympathisers working there. At another time — that happened in the spring of 1937 — Péter Hain told me to report about the socialist movement of which I was one of the leaders. So I had to report which of the members of this movement were living in Hungary, who was working in the Social Democratic Party abroad, and who was active. I had to report on the work of the Szalmás choir in the

summer of 1937, whether communists were playing a role there (*thinks for some time*). In 1938 I had to hand in my report not to Péter Hain but to another police officer whose name I do not know. I did not know him. He first of all asked for and received from me a report about conditions in the fifth district organisation of the Social Democratic Party, again mostly about the influence of the communists there. I again had to report to the political police in 1938 about those lectures and discussion circles which I, as a lecturer of the Social Democratic Party, gave at that time. I reported on the same question on one more occasion, and emphasised that these lectures and discussion circles either openly or covertly contained propaganda against the Soviet Union and the communists. In 1941 I was no longer active in the fifth district but in the sixth district organisation of the Social Democratic Party, and the first time, about the youth there . . .

The President (interrupting) : In 1941? Were you not there already in 1940?

Justus : I did not furnish the police with reports in 1940 because I spent the greater part of the year in military service. I made the first report about the sixth district organisation of the Social Democratic Party in 1941 and as I remember in connection with this, the social democratic leadership there wanted to dissolve the district youth group because of the strong influence of the communists. The political police in 1941 again asked me about my own political lectures and I mentioned them and the police officer agreed that, in order to gain the confidence and sympathy of the audience, I had to use quite radical terminology. In 1942, mobilisation for the services and for forced labour called away a considerable proportion of the social democratic officials. The idea arose that I should be elected secretary of the sixth district Social Democratic Party organisation. I reported this, too, to the police and the police again instructed me to undertake this and to use this opportunity for fighting communist influence. At the beginning of 1943 I was again questioned on the sixth district party organisation and the communist influence there, and on this occasion I reported on the majority of the people in the leadership. The last time I was summoned to the political police was at the very end of 1943 — I don't remember the exact time — and they asked whether I knew that a strong communist group was operating in the sixth district Social Democratic Party. I said that I did not know of the existence of this; if I knew of it, I would fight against it in every way. With this my connection with the Horthy police broke off, for in May, 1944, I was called up for forced labour and I was taken to

Yugoslavia, to Bor. In summing up, I would like to say about my informer's work for the police that . . . (*he hesitates*) although Péter Hain compelled me to undertake this role, I see today quite clearly that it was my Trotskyist convictions and activities which first made me the actual ally of the police. This activity directed the attention of the police to me and this carried me so far as to become an agent of the Horthy police.

The President : The substance of your espionage activity discussed up to now is, that during the course of these years you threw complete light upon the effect of communist influence in the fifth and sixth district Social Democratic Party organisations for the political police.

Justus : Whether I threw complete light upon it, I don't know.

The President : As much as you were able to.

Justus : What I knew I told the police.

The President : You had already wanted to begin on your stay in France.

Justus : Yes.

The President : Say something about it. What tasks did you carry out, again for the Hungarian political police?

Justus : In 1932, on the first occasion that Péter Hain summoned me to him, I told him that since I had lost my job in Hungary I wanted to move to Paris and to work there as a journalist. I had to tell this to Péter Hain for I had been on the files of the political police on two previous occasions and so the political police itself would have stood in the way of my trip abroad. Hain answered that he would help me in travelling abroad only on the condition that I would continue my services for the police there, in that after my arrival in Paris I would report at the Hungarian Legation there, and I would receive further instructions from them. I left the country at the end of 1932, but I only reported at the Paris Legation a year later for in the meantime I had spent some time in Vienna and in Berlin, or rather first in Berlin and then in Vienna. In both places I came into contact with local Trotskyists, among them leaders of the international Trotskyite movement.

The President : And after this what did you do in Paris?

Justus : In Paris I reported at the Hungarian Legation. As a journalist, I had to turn to the press attaché at the Legation, to Gyula Gesztesi, who called upon me to make reports for him and told me that he was the person who would forward Péter Hain's instructions to me and send on my reports to Budapest, to Péter Hain. He charged me with the task, of which Péter Hain had already

spoken in Budapest, of getting extensive information on the activities of Hungarian communist emigrés, and emigrés sympathising with communists in Paris.

The President : Did you give your code number to Gesztesi?

Justus : Gesztesi asked me.

The President : So you told him?

Justus : Yes, I did.

The President : What did you say, what was your code number?

Justus : J/17. I think it was J/17.

The President : To what extent did you carry out the tasks demanded by Gesztesi?

Justus : I was hardly able at all to carry out the tasks demanded by Gesztesi. Primarily because the communists and sympathisers in Paris knew of my Trotskyist, anti-Soviet and anti-communist views and as a consequence . . .

The President : They were reserved with you and did not admit you into their ranks.

Justus : They were completely distrustful of me. Instead, I was able to report to Gesztesi, when he pressed me for reports, on the Hungarian and French Trotskyist movements there, in which, however, Gesztesi was not interested.

The President : Now, since we have been speaking about France, French territory, let us go on from this now to the question of what assignments you received from French official persons in Budapest after the Liberation. Were you brought into their organisation? Speak about this.

Justus : After the Liberation I made reports for the French intelligence service, secret service, too.

The President : Speak of the details of this. How did you get into a position to make reports, how did this connection come about, what were your assignments, what data did they ask for and what data did you give, to whom?

Justus : I was brought in to work for the French secret service by the press attaché of the French Legation in Budapest, François Gachot, whom I had known since approximately 1938. The acquaintance originated in that when I returned from a long stay of several years in France I came into contact with Gachot. Before the Liberation the connection between us was fairly superficial. After the Liberation it became closer, as Gachot visited me on several occasions at the secretariat of the Social Democratic Party. At the beginning he discussed with me mainly cultural issues, which were within the scope of my activities in the Social Democratic Party. Later he put

to me more and more questions of a political nature and from his questions it became apparent that he knew of my Trotskyite, anti-Soviet and anti-communist views, for he manifested interest first of all in the relations between the two workers' parties, the differences between the Social Democrats and Communists, and other political questions. At the beginning of 1948, on one occasion I even asked Gachot how he would explain the interest shown by a press attaché in such expressly confidential domestic issues. Gachot answered that, quite frankly, besides his official functions, he was collecting information for the French secret service and that he hoped that knowing this I would not deny him information. I satisfied his demand for two reasons. First, because I had already given him quite confidential information and so I was to a great extent in his hands already, and second, because in the information given to Gachot I saw a weapon in the battle against communist influence. The situation was that Gachot did not bring me in formally; I gave him no promise in writing or verbally, as I had for instance given to the Horthyist police, but I actually became an agent of the French secret service through Gachot even without such formal steps of joining.

The President : What was the information you gave, in content?

Justus : I mentioned that before the Liberation it was mainly about the relations of the two workers' parties, the differences between the two workers' parties, and after their unification . . .

The President : Before the unification, you mean.

Justus : Before the unification. After the unification, about the meetings of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party and a score of various government measures in preparation and of a more or less confidential nature. For instance — I don't remember all of them — on the issue of the co-operatives, and then the government measures being prepared against the kulaks and the clerical reaction and other similar government measures and Party resolutions.

The President : In fact, on the government measures under preparation and of a confidential nature.

Justus : Yes.

The President : How did you get these data?

Justus : I was a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party and in this way this information was available to me.

The President : Who did you get it from? From Hungarian officials in public life? From government personalities?

Justus : From various people, partly from the Government, partly from leading . . .

The President : So you got it partly from Hungarian government personalities, not only from Party officials but also from Hungarian government personalities.

Justus : Partly, yes. At that time I transmitted to Gachot also a part of the material collected for the Yugoslavs and finally gave him some information on organisational and political issues at the Hungarian Radio.

The President : Now let us take up your connections with the Yugoslav intelligence. When and how did the Yugoslav official agents bring you into it?

Justus : The preliminaries of this were as follows : at the end of 1945 the leadership of the Social Democratic Party at that time held a reception in honour of the diplomatic corps in Budapest with the main purpose of making their connections with Western diplomats closer. I, too, was present at this reception and Colonel Obrad Cicmil, the head of the Yugoslav Military Mission was also there. I was introduced to Cicmil and as I remember, I sat next to him at the table. To his question whether I had been to Yugoslavia, I told him that in 1944 the Germans took me for forced labour to Bor and that the Yugoslav partisans liberated me from the Germans, that I had deep sympathy and respect for the Yugoslavs and after my liberation I had voluntarily enlisted for armed service against the Germans, but it did not come to actual fighting, for which I was very sorry. To this Cicmil replied that I should not be sorry, for I would have plenty of opportunity to be of help against the enemies of Yugoslavia. Frankly, at that time I did not understand this sentence at all. Months later, in the spring of 1946, Cicmil rang me up and invited me for supper for the next evening. I could not understand this invitation and tried to evade it ; he, however, insisted so strongly on it that I finally accepted. At Cicmil's house Major Javorsky, Cicmil's deputy, was also present besides me. Cicmil said immediately that one of the main reasons for the invitation was that Major Javorsky definitely wished to make my acquaintance by all means. I must remark that at that time it struck me — and at first I could not understand it — that Javorsky who was a major and so a subordinate of Cicmil, was playing a role as if he were giving instructions to Cicmil and Cicmil would carry out these instructions. We talked with Javorsky, first in German, then in French, and on several occasions Javorsky hinted at my Trotskyist views. When we sat down to supper, he said to Cicmil in German : "Don't you know that we are sitting at the same table with the

Hungarian Trotsky". To this I said that I knew I was called so, but that I was a left-wing social democrat. To this Javorsky replied that he knew very well what my views were, he knew that I opposed the communists and he even knew that I was not a social democrat and that the separate road which I wanted to follow within the Social Democratic Party as a matter of fact appealed to him very strongly. At the same time he called upon me to co-operate with him. This he did quite vaguely, so that at first I could not even understand what he was talking about and then he explained to me that he wanted to get information, confidential political information, from me. I understood this now even less, for at that time I too, like every one else, thought that the Yugoslav leaders stood close by the Soviet Union and were convinced communists ; and so I could not understand why it was just I, whose anti-Soviet views were known to them, whom they wanted to win over for this purpose, and I suspected provocation. So I answered something of the sort that I had to fulfill his request, for after all he was the representative of a victorious power in Budapest. In answer to this Javorsky asked me ironically whether I wanted to give him information of the kind that appeared in the papers. I answered that I could hardly give anything else, at which he said something to Cicmil in Serb, and with this the political part of the conversation, I think, came to an end.

The President : When did you next meet?

Justus : Some months later.

The President : What happened then?

Justus : Not with Cicmil but only with Javorsky, at his house. On the occasion of the next meeting Javorsky spoke even more openly. He said that he offered me co-operation with the Yugoslav secret organisation on Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich's direct instructions. I again tried to evade the issue, but then Javorsky said that he knew not only of my anti-Soviet and anti-communist activities, that is, of my Trotskyist past, but also had knowledge of the fact that I had rendered services to the Hungarian Horthyist police. At first I tried to deny this, but then Javorsky confronted me with a photostat copy which contained Gyula Gesztesi's report from Paris to Péter Hain about me. After this I couldn't, I had no way to, evade this newest demand and I agreed.

The President : What assignment did you then immediately get from Javorsky?

Justus : I got the assignment of preparing a written report on the situation within the leadership of the Social Democratic

Party, on the relations and attitudes of the important leaders of the Social Democratic Party towards Yugoslavia, or rather the Yugoslav leaders, the standpoint of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party regarding the Yugoslav minority in Hungary.

The President : Yes. So with this you became the organised agent of the Yugoslav intelligence.

Justus : Yes.

The President : As such an agent, into what sort of contact did you come with Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich himself?

Justus : Javorsky said to me even at this first meeting that he was turning to me at Rankovich's express instructions. Then he said that Rankovich considered my role so important that I would be in contact not with the Yugoslav agents operating in Budapest, but through special couriers with Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich himself.

The President : When and what sort of a first task did you then get through this direct connection with Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich?

Justus (thinking for a while) : I got the first direct assignment not on the occasion of the first meeting but in April 1948, when a man calling himself Vadas, Ferenc Vadas, came to see me as Rankovich's special agent and on Rankovich's orders told me . . . (*He thinks.*) . . . that the main task was the fight against the influence of the Soviet Union in Hungary. In the interests of this . . .

The President : So he told you this definitely in Rankovich's name.

Justus : Definitely as Rankovich's order and that in the interests of this . . .

The President : Did this Vadas speak in Hungarian?

Justus : Yes. He spoke Hungarian quite correctly but with a slight foreign accent, so that I came to the conclusion he was probably from a part of Yugoslavia which had a Hungarian population.

The President : Yes. What tasks did he assign to you?

Justus : That for the sake of this, in the interests of the struggle against the influence of the Soviet Union in Hungary, all those elements must be concentrated who are dissatisfied with the regime, with the Hungarian political system, and that Tito's Yugoslavia must be set before them as a pattern to be followed.

Vadas reminded me, and this was also a message from Rankovich, that with the unification of the two workers' parties, from certain points of view the tasks would become easier, from others,

however, more difficult. It would be easier inasmuch as within a united workers' party it would be easier to gather together all dissatisfied and anti-government elements, but it would be more difficult because my range of activity, my sphere of influence, would become less in the united workers' party than it was in the Social Democratic Party, and in addition, in consequence of the far more severe party discipline of the united workers' party, it would be much more difficult to carry out such activity. He mentioned further, also as a message from Rankovich that, according to information received by Rankovich, the united workers' party would consist not only of two parts, that is of the former social democrats and communists, but that there was also within the Communist Party a rather strong group, a nationalistic communist group. I would have to try to look for them and seek contact with them.

The President : I presume this you have just told us hardly took place at the very first meeting.

Justus : This was not the very first meeting, but the President put the question, when did I get my first assignment.

The President : That is to say, that was your first assignment, but not the first meeting.

Justus : The first meeting took place earlier, much earlier, in the spring of 1947.

The President : That is, at the first meeting you had not yet received anything from Vadas.

Justus : I received instructions from Vadas, but at that time he did not tell me that it was from Rankovich.

The President : This of which you were just speaking, at what meeting did it take place?

Justus : It was at the third meeting, in April 1948.

The President : Right.

Justus : On the second occasion, in the autumn of 1947, another courier . . .

The President : Was it Kemény?

Justus : Yes, he called himself Kemény.

The President : And then?

Justus : At the third meeting of which I was just talking, when Vadas had come again . . .

The President : What instructions did you receive, again from Rankovich, after the unification of the two workers' parties?

Justus : After the formal merger I had only one meeting with Rankovich's agent, again with Vadas, namely in autumn 1948.

Then Vadas, again referring to personal instructions from Rankovich, unfolded to me the outlines, the further perspectives and aims of my whole activity. He told me that their aim was, and they presumed that it was also my aim, to detach Hungary from the Soviet Union and from the other peoples' democracies, and to make her stand on Yugoslavia's side. This was only feasible, however, if the present Government were to be overthrown. On Rankovich's orders he asked me what force I could make available for a movement directed to this end?

The President : And when you first met Vadas in April, 1947, when — as you were saying — Vadas was only referring to Rankovich without telling you that he had been expressly conveying his instructions, what was then the subject of the discussion between you?

Justus : In April 1947 he spoke first . . . (*he thinks for a time*) . . . he inquired what my own policy was within the Social Democratic Party, and what its perspectives were. Then immediately, with reference to Rankovich he told me to continue my activity as before, but cautiously, lest it be discovered.

The President : Did you not then give him some sort of a report, an espionage report?

Justus : Yes, I did. It was a written reply to the questions I mentioned before, which Javorsky had asked me.

The President : Yes, and actually your meeting with Kemény too . . .

Justus : Yes, on the occasion of that first meeting Vadas had also put a few questions, telling me to give the reply to them to the next courier, that is to Kemény. These questions comprised data on the liaison committee operating between the Social Democratic and the Communist Parties, its negotiations, information on the communist members of this liaison committee, also questions concerning the members of the political committee of the Social Democratic Party and finally he separately inquired, and in a rather detailed manner, about Zoltán Horváth, the editor of "Népszava".

The President : Now, what was László Rajk's place in the course of all these moves, plans and functions?

Justus (after some thought) : In the spring of 1948, by commission of Rankovich, Vadas — as I mentioned — called my attention to the existence of a nationalistic group within the Communist Party, telling me to try to gather information in that respect. Then, in October 1948, that is at the next and at the same time the last meeting, I told Vadas that according to his instructions I had tried to obtain information, which was not easy. From this information

I could see that Rajk, of whose nationalistic views I was convinced, and of whom I also knew that in common conferences of left-wing social democrats and communists, with regard to questions on which agreement already existed, independently and in contrast to the other communist leaders, extremely vehemently attacked the social democrats, which in many instances resulted in the failure of the agreement. I also knew that Rajk was very conceited and that his own popularity was rather important for him. In other words, following from all this, I assumed that Rajk was at the head of this nationalistic group and that he had at his disposal a fairly strong group. If the personal relations prevailing between Rajk and myself had not been quite so bad, I would have tried to establish contact with him, but as things were, some sort of a mediator would be needed. To this, if I remember correctly, Vadas replied that my information corresponded with that of Rankovich, but that I should, however, wait to establish contact until I received new instructions from Belgrade. This was about all that concerned Rajk's person.

The President : Thus, it did not even come to your contacting László Rajk?

Justus : It did not come to it.

The President : Why not?

Justus : A next meeting did not take place.

The President : Why did it not take place? There was no time for it, as he was arrested. Was it not so?

Justus : Yes. — In October 1948, that is, on the occasion of the last meeting, I asked Vadas what their final idea was, did they think that Yugoslavia alone would turn on the Soviet Union, on all the other peoples' democracies? In reply to this, though not actually saying so, Vadas hinted very obviously that they were expecting, and could expect, very strong international support. Even at that time I could not interpret this otherwise, than that they were counting on Anglo-Saxon, especially American, support. Even at that time I recollected that in 1944, when I was in Yugoslavia and was a member of the Yugoslav army, I had seen very many British officers, but even more American, and that even at that time the situation was such that quite unimportant, in other words, lower-ranking American officers gave instructions to Yugoslav staff officers and generals, that in fact, they were the actual directors and masters in Yugoslavia. That is what I wanted to add.

The President : To what extent did you carry out the instructions received from the Yugoslav intelligence organs, and what steps did you take towards their realisation?

Justus : The fact was that I recognised quite soon that though the Yugoslav agents, primarily Vadas, had in the beginning asked for reports from me, it was not the reports that were the most important thing but rather to attach me to the forces mobilised by the Yugoslavs against the Hungarian people's democracy. And if subsequently I am trying to explain why they had selected me in particular for this role — although if it were information only that they needed, they could have made better use of somebody within the state apparatus — then I can only say that I was especially suitable for them and Rankovich's people were counting on me because they knew of my connections with the Horthypolice, and they could also take advantage of the fact that they knew me as one of the leaders of the Trotskyites. It was in this quality in the first place that they made use of my services.

The President : Did these things take place continuously? What actually were your instructions from Rankovich? What tasks did Rankovich assign to you here in Hungary?

Justus : My task was to gather together all those elements opposing the Hungarian people's democracy, who could be, or who in my opinion could be, used for political action directed against the Hungarian people's democracy. Essentially, this was my task.

The President : How did you gather these elements together?

Justus : First of all, I initiated more intensive propaganda than ever, then I carried on a campaign against the Hungarian people's democratic regime, and in various questions concerning foreign and home policy I tried to disseminate viewpoints entirely contradictory to those of the Government and the Party. Then I resumed connections with my former Trotskyite friends from before and during the war, and with students whom I had trained after the Liberation in the Social Democratic Party and who were still under my influence. Then, also according to Rankovich's explicit instructions, I established contact with such former socialist officials who for personal or political reasons were dissatisfied with their situation, and this dissatisfaction gave a sort of basis for using them politically in Rankovich's campaign. Then I myself organised two illegal groups, a small one comprising my absolutely reliable political followers, whose duty would have been to organise further such groups themselves. The other was a group of much wider range consisting in the main of intellectuals. Then I entered into contact with Pál Demény, head of an anti-Party fraction whom I had known long ago and with whom I had already established contact in 1946, that is, before I had entered the Yugoslav service. For he wrote a letter

to me from prison illegally and asked me to bring the members of his fraction into the Social Democratic Party and to place them. I did this, or rather tried to do it. Then, I gave a score of confidential reports to Rankovich's agents. Essentially these were my assignments from Rankovich.

The President : And what did you do concerning the concentration of the forces opposing the regime in Hungary?

Justus : I tried to bring together these followers of mine, partly former Trotskyites, partly my students, the members of various fractions, dissatisfied social democrats and other dissatisfied elements.

The President : The forces thus concentrated would have been the ones which you would have wanted to link to the organisation led by Rajk — for which, however, there was now no time. This is how you said it.

Justus : This is how it was.

The President : Tell us of the content and the scope of those confidential reports — to put it plainly, of those espionage activities — which you continuously carried out for Vadas and Kemény.

Justus : At the beginning they dealt with the party leadership of the Social Democratic Party, the attitude of the Social Democratic Party towards Tito and the Yugoslav minorities in Hungary, the differences between the social democrats and communists, and the relations between the two parties. Then, with the situation of the social democrats in the united workers' party, about the foreign, especially Western, connections and negotiations of the social democratic leaders, and where there were dissatisfied elements within and without the Hungarian Working People's Party. In addition, the French intelligence, the Yugoslav intelligence, were especially interested in questions of the Radio and the press, and who were the people in these jobs.

The President : Of course, these questions came up repeatedly in relation to the given time?

Justus : In case something new came up in any of them. I want to add that I began part of these activities which I have now summarised even before my connections with the Yugoslav intelligence, and that even what I began, I intensified, increased, expressly on Rankovich's personal instructions. And it is not as an excuse that I want to say it, but it is a fact that until then I considered my whole practical activities rather futile and hopeless, but the example of the Yugoslav intelligence and of Tito himself as well as the fact that Rankovich's agents and men talked continuously

about a very large-scale movement in Hungary against the regime, and that they referred more or less openly to their American connections and to American support, increased and considerably intensified my activities of this kind.

The President : Tell me, Pál Justus, have you ever been a member of a Zionist organisation?

Justus : Never.

The President : András Szalai! You have been, haven't you? I did not ask you before.

Szalai : Yes, I was.

The President : When?

Szalai : From 1930 to 1932.

The President then announced that the trial would be continued on Tuesday at 9 a. m.

HEARING OF THE WITNESSES

The special council of the People's Court continued the trial in the case of László Rajk and his accomplices on Tuesday morning.

The President : Have the members of the People's Court any questions to put to the accused Pál Justus? (*no*). Has the People's Prosecutor any questions? (*no*). Has the Defence any questions? (*no*). Pál Justus, take your seat!

The President : Now the proofs follow.

The President first summons the witness

Dr. Lajos Bokor
before the special council.

The President (to Bokor) : You will be heard as witness. I caution you to tell the truth, because you may have to take an oath on what you say. The law punishes perjury severely. Have you understood this?

Bokor : I understand.

Answering the questions of the President, Dr. Bokor says that he is a retired captain of police, he is related to László Rajk, being his brother-in-law, and there is no quarrel between them.

The President : Tell us about your connections with Horthy's political police.

Bokor : I was a captain of police at the old police headquarters, but I was appointed to serve in the public security department of the Ministry of Home Affairs. The public security department was a superior forum, or more precisely a control authority of the political department of the police.

The President : How, and under what circumstances, did Hetényi organise László Rajk for the police in 1931?

Bokor : Gyula Rajk, László Rajk's elder brother, called on me in my office in the autumn of 1931 and told me that his younger

brother had been taken to the police headquarters and had then been remanded in custody. He asked me to intervene in his interest. I declared that I was ready to intervene. I went to the leader of the political department, Imre Hetényi, the deputy chief commissioner, with whom I was not only in official connection, but we were also in touch privately. On Sundays, I repeatedly went on excursions with him. So I turned to him because I trusted him. I told him my request in László Rajk's interest. He listened to me and called in the group leader Oszkár Zdeborszky Borszéky. He instructed him to interrogate László Rajk exhaustively, immediately, and to report to him about it. After a short time the detective group leader came back and reported that László Rajk who had been arrested because of the distribution of leaflets admitted everything and was in the ante-room. So Hetényi let László Rajk come in and put a typewritten declaration form before him on his desk. He said that if László Rajk signed it, he would immediately stop the criminal proceedings against him and would set him free at once. László Rajk then signed the declaration. Four persons were present while he signed the form: Hetényi, myself, the detective group leader Oszkár Zdeborszky Borszéky and László Rajk. The content of the declaration was roughly the following: I, the undersigned László Rajk, bind myself immediately and confidentially to denounce to the political police every case I become acquainted with in connection with the preparation of bolshevism, that is, of the communist revolution in Hungary. It was in this way, through this act, that László Rajk was organized by the police.

The President : What do you know, after that, about László Rajk's collaboration with the political police of the Horthy regime, that is, how László Rajk was later active within the ranks of the revolutionary movement as *agent provocateur*?

Bokor : László Rajk was arrested the second time in June, 1932. On this occasion his elder brother, Gyula Rajk, asked me again to intervene in his affair and at least to find out why he had been arrested. I was ready to intervene and of course I intended to call upon Imre Hetényi, the deputy chief commissioner of the police. But I did not find him in his office and so I turned to his substitute, József Sombor-Schweinitzer, who was a chief counsellor of the police at that time. After I had told him about my request, he informed me that the police proceedings against the recently arrested communist group had been started upon the confidential information previously given by László Rajk; its members were mainly recruited from university students. He also declared that László Rajk had to share the fate of his companions, for if he did

not share it, his companions would obviously find out that he was a *provocateur*. It was then that I found out that he was not only a formal *agent provocateur* but was also active in this capacity. Sombor-Schweinitzer added that I need not worry because László Rajk would not receive a heavy sentence, and he would get the most lenient punishment of the whole group. I knew the reason for this, and they also knew when steps would have to be taken in this matter as far as the court was concerned.

The President : Say something about what part you played in the recruitment of László Rajk by the political police?

Bokor : I played no part at all, I just intervened in his interests.

The President : Did you receive a communication in 1936 from Sombor-Schweinitzer, who was the deputy chief of the political police, about László Rajk crossing the Czechoslovak frontier illegally?

Bokor : Yes, Sombor-Schweinitzer called on me in the spring of 1936 and confidentially informed me that a communist messenger service existed between Losonc and Salgótarján whose members used to cross the frontier illegally, and he had a suspicion that this messenger service kept up contact between the Czechoslovak and Hungarian communists. He further informed me that he had selected László Rajk to find out about this messenger service. In this connection he asked me to intervene in the matter of László Rajk's deportation to Slovakia. But this deportation should happen in such a way that László Rajk could appear in Czechoslovakia as a political refugee persecuted in Hungary who was looking for refuge in Czechoslovakia. I agreed to carry this out. I did carry it out, and László Rajk's deportation took place in the presence of a detective.

The President : Do you know that László Rajk received further instructions from the political police in connection with the Czechoslovak journey?

Bokor : I only know as much as Sombor-Schweinitzer told me about this matter in the beginning, as I have already explained.

The President : You know nothing else?

Bokor : I know nothing else.

The President : Do you know how László Rajk fulfilled the assignment received in Czechoslovakia?

Bokor : In the few weeks following the deportation I occasionally met Sombor-Schweinitzer, who spoke only very briefly about this question in the presence of other people and I did not broach the subject. He turned to me and said that from reports he had received, László Rajk was successfully working on his assignment. As I said,

I did not have an opportunity then to speak on this subject in detail, it did not interest me enough to ask about it, and the conditions under which he informed me of this were not even convenient.

The President : Have the People's Judges any questions to the witness? (*none*) And the People's Prosecutor? (*none*) And the Defence? (*none*) László Rajk! Have you any observations to make?

Rajk : I have no remarks to make.

The President : Is there a proposal to put the witness under oath? (*None*. *The court waived its right to make the witness take the oath*).

The President : Let the witness Oszkár Borszéky come forward. What is your name?

Borszéky : Oszkár Borszéky.

The President : Occupation?

Borszéky : Retired Lieutenant-Colonel in the police detective force.

The President : First say something about the appointment you had in 1931 in the political police of the Horthy regime.

Borszéky : In 1931 I worked in the political police of the Horthy regime as a detective inspector. I was in a way Hetényi's secretary and as his confidential man I arranged various investigations and confidential matters.

The President : What do you know of László Rajk's arrest by the political police in 1931 and, in connection with this, what do you know of the statement made to the political police by László Rajk in the course of his examination following his arrest?

Borszéky : In 1931, László Rajk was taken into custody because of his participation in the underground communist movement. I do not remember now, after eighteen years, Rajk's confession about the underground movement; I only know that Rajk gave the police department concerned a full confession, admitting his guilt and that of his associates who had been discovered.

The President : Do you know how, and under what circumstances, László Rajk was brought in as *agent provocateur* by Police Captain Hetényi in 1931?

Borszéky : Hetényi brought László Rajk in custody into my room, and said that a relative of László Rajk's, Bokor, a police captain at that time, was in his room; I should listen to Rajk because he would like to help him. I asked Rajk, who answered that in the department concerned he had already made a confession. Then I conducted him to Hetényi and I reported on this. Hetényi left the room and, coming back in a few minutes, said to László Rajk :

"Tell me, wouldn't it be wiser if you would render services to me, or rather to the political police? Would you be willing in the future to report to the political police on underground communist movements, things noted there, and persons taking part in them, as well as their activities?" Rajk stated his agreement to this, and he said that he thought himself suitable for rendering secret services to the political police. Then Hetényi presented a statement to him and asked him to sign it. I don't remember the text of this statement word for word either — we are speaking about things that happened eighteen years ago — but I know that in this statement Rajk bound himself to render secret services for the political police in the underground communist movement and to take on the role of an *agent provocateur* in the underground revolutionary movements.

The President : The substance of what you said is then that you were present in Hetényi's room when László Rajk signed a statement in which he bound himself to act as *agent provocateur* for the Horthyist political police. Is it not?

Borszéky : Yes. At this signing Lajos Bokor, too, was present. As far as I can recall, following this, László Rajk was set free on that very day.

The President : Do you know anything about the fact that after this László Rajk in 1932 betrayed an underground group to the political police?

Borszéky : In 1932 Péter Hain together with Wayand declared to me that through Rajk's information and activities as *agent provocateur* they had been able to clean up an illegal group of University students and in connection with this he mentioned the name of Schöpflin.

The President : Do you know anything about László Rajk having denounced an illegal group to the police, as well as the names of those people in the movement who disseminated illegal revolutionary leaflets in the vicinity of Kőbánya?

Borszéky : Yes. It was again from Péter Hain that I found out that as a result of László Rajk's denouncing and *agent provocateur* activities, they were able to seize the illegal press — or rather it consisted of a typewriter and a duplicating machine — and also they were able to obtain the names of those who had spread illegal communist leaflets, again in the vicinity of Kőbánya. Proceedings were started against those who had taken part in this.

The President : Have you any knowledge of the fact that in 1935 László Rajk disrupted the building workers' strike and that in consequence of his provocative activities the police arrested some two hundred strikers.

Borszéký : In 1935 Hetényi himself told me that Péter Hain was much satisfied with Rajk's activity, and the last time he had advised him to infiltrate into the strike committee of the MÉMOSz and to provoke some kind of strike there. As a member of the strike committee he should induce the MÉMOSz leadership to organise some large-scale demonstration, but to carry out all this so that Péter Hain be informed of it in time. László Rajk had fulfilled these tasks completely. The MÉMOSz submitted an application to the Ministry of Home Affairs asking for permission to arrange a demonstration. Of course, the permission was not granted. In spite of this, László Rajk had provoked the demonstration, but Péter Hain's men interfered in time and prevented it, liquidating at the same time the strike that broke out. In connection with this, police proceedings were started against two hundred workers.

After this followed the hearing of

Dr. Ferenc Jánosi

former military jurist with the rank of captain.

The President : Tell us in what capacity you took part in 1944-45 in the court-martial of the Szálasi fascist regime trying the case of László Rajk, and during the proceedings in general?

Jánosi : I was detailed to that Szálasi court in November 1944. It was the court of the chief of the general staff. Towards the middle of March 1945 — I cannot exactly recall the date but it was the middle of March — the court of the chief of the general staff, that court of Szálasi, held in Sopronkőhida the trial of a group of the resistance movement. In this trial I, in my capacity of prosecutor, represented the prosecution.

The President : Right. In this trial held by a fascist court, what arguments did László Rajk produce for his own defence, did he say anything about his loyalty to the Szálasi government and regime, and about his reasons for, and the arguments with which he asked for, the examination of his brother Endre Rajk?

Jánosi : First of all, he denied his guilt, and denied in particular that he had ever been really active in a left-wing or resistance movement. In respect of his, as well as his family's, devotion to the Szálasi regime, he asked that his brother, Endre Rajk, who was Under-Secretary of State invested with ministerial powers be examined. He asked this in connection with the fact that for a long time, since 1931 and during the Szálasi regime too, he had rendered useful and valuable services to the political police, asserting also that he was a loyal follower of this regime. He also asked that the former

and the then active heads of the political police, that Hetényi and his successor Sombor-Schweinitzer, as well as Péter Hain, head of Szálasi's political police, be heard with regard to the fact that from 1931 on until his arrest — which took place at the end of 1944 — he rendered useful and valuable services.

The President : Now tell us what statements Szálasi's Under-Secretary of State, Endre Rajk, the brother of László Rajk, made at the trial?

Jánosi : The court heard Endre Rajk. Endre Rajk first referred to the great difference in age between himself and his younger brother, László Rajk, and said that due to his seniority he had observed with paternal care the fate and activities of his younger brother. He as an elder brother, but first of all as a responsible Under-Secretary of State in Szálasi's government, being fully aware of his responsibility arising out of this office, he could state that his younger brother, László Rajk, did not pursue any leftist activities, and he confirmed that from 1931 until Szálasi's time, and also during Szálasi's regime, László Rajk was active for the police. He further confirmed that his younger brother László Rajk was no enemy of the regime and that he, by virtue of his office, took full responsibility for ensuring that László Rajk would not in the future turn against the regime.

The President : Yes. Previously you said something but I did not get it right. Relate again how László Rajk brought up at the trial his co-operation with the political police to exonerate himself, and in connection with this, whom he asked to be summoned for the trial.

Jánosi : He appealed to the fact that he had never been actively a left-wing man; and to prove the fact that he not only was not active as such but even rendered useful services through his reports on certain groups of the left-wing revolutionary movement — to prove this he asked that in addition to Endre Rajk, the successive heads of the political police from 1931 onwards, that is, first of all Hetényi, then Hetényi's successor Sombor-Schweinitzer and the head of Szálasi's political police Péter Hain be examined as witnesses.

The President : What instructions did you as prosecutor receive from the president of the military court?

Jánosi : Directly before the prosecutor's speech, I received instructions that I should deal with László Rajk's case briefly and especially that I should not mention in my speech László Rajk's connections with the political police.

The President : What verdict was then arrived at by the fascist court in Rajk's case and what verdicts in the cases of the rest of the accused who were held to account at the same time as he was?

Jánosi : In this case they acquitted László Rajk of the charge of sedition, and meted out very heavy sentences to the rest of the accused, in some cases the death sentence, in others the heaviest prison sentence, imprisonment for life.

The President now ordered that

István Stolte

be called to the witness stand.

After registering his personal data the President put the following question to Stolte :

Of what foreign intelligence service are you a member? Tell us of your position, the name of the organisation, its data.

Stolte : I was a member of the American secret service, better known as the CIC, the Counter Intelligence Corps, from May 27, 1945 to September 1947. I belonged as a detective to the Supregian organisation which had its headquarter in the town of Rosenheim, in Upper Bavaria.

The President : For how many years did you work for the political police of the Horthy regime?

Stolte : With some interruptions I worked from the middle of 1934 until about the end of 1935, and then again from the middle of 1939 right up to the beginning of the German occupation, that is, until March 19, 1944.

The President : Rajk turned to you with a request, namely that you should look up in the American zone of Germany the former political police chief of the Horthy regime, Sombor-Schweinitzer, and you should tell him that Rajk had already left for Budapest from Germany. Give some details of this.

Stolte : In the first month of 1945 we were political prisoners in Sopronkőhida as prisoners of the Szálasi military court. I had known László Rajk long before this, as early as 1931, from the communist movement at the University. Our ties of friendship remained intact even following my expulsion from the Communist Party in December 1933. In Sopronkőhida we were brought together again. Then because of the pressure of the approaching Soviet troops, the military court was compelled to order the evacuation

of Sopronkőhida, and we went to Germany together. Rajk knew that he would be set free shortly, considering the fact that he had been acquitted by the court in the last days in Sopronkőhida. Counting on his being set free, he told me he had it from reliable sources that Dr. József Sombor-Schweinitzer, the head of the Hungarian political police, was during the war in Germany, somewhere near Munich. He said that the locating of Dr. József Sombor-Schweinitzer could not cause special difficulties, for considering the fact that during the war, too, he had co-operated with the Anglo-Saxons, one could surely trace him by inquiring from the Americans. Rajk asked me to find Dr. József Sombor-Schweinitzer after I was set free and to transmit to him the message that he, László Rajk, would return to Budapest, to Hungary. As I knew very well of László Rajk's Trotskyist past and views as well as his connections with the Hungarian political police, it was clear enough to me that this request was meant to serve the purpose of establishing connections with the American secret service. Still I pressed the question, to which he answered only that Sombor-Schweinitzer would know what to do about this message.

The President : Were you able then to locate Sombor-Schweinitzer with the Americans?

Stolte : Towards the end of 1945, about December, I found out that Sombor-Schweinitzer lived in the town of Traunstein in Upper Bavaria. I also found out that he worked in the CIC office at Traunstein, as a regular employee of this office. Shortly after this in 1946, about early January, I visited him there. Later I also found out that Dr. Sombor-Schweinitzer who was working for this office had the job first of all of acting as the Hungarian adviser and expert of the CIC office in Traunstein and that he was engaged in decisively important activities in picking out, or rather organising, spies and political agents to be sent to Hungary. So in January, 1946, I visited Dr. Sombor-Schweinitzer in the Traunstein CIC office and transmitted to him László Rajk's request, or rather message. Then Dr. Sombor-Schweinitzer introduced me to the chief of the Traunstein CIC, who, if I remember correctly, called himself Mr. Clodwell. Jointly, they put numerous questions to me in connection with this message. They were especially interested whether in my opinion László Rajk would be able to undertake, or rather carry through, a consistently leading role of long duration in the Hungarian Communist Party. Following these questions, Mr. Clodwell expressed his thanks for what I had told him and declared that they would find a way of making use of Rajk's message. With this our conversation came to a close.

The President : Did you mention to any other person in the American intelligence organisations that Rajk had sent you to Sombor-Schweinitzer?

Stolte : No. The activities of the American intelligence organisations relating to Hungary were centred in Traunstein at this time.

The President : I have no other questions.

The President : Bring in

Dr. Endre Szebenyi.

(to Dr. Szebenyi). You will be examined as a witness. What do you know about László Rajk's activities in the Ministry of Home Affairs, when László Rajk used his position as Minister to save certain participants in the anti-republican conspiracy at that time, among them Albert Bartha and Ferenc Nagy Jnr?

Szebenyi : At the end of 1946 and during the first third of 1947 the investigation of Donáth and his fellow-conspirators was in progress in the State Defence Department. This investigation was led by László Rajk himself as Minister of Home Affairs. I was also present during part of the investigation as head of a department of the Ministry of Home Affairs and so know about Rajk's activities at that time at first hand.

In the course of the investigation, seriously incriminating facts came to light about Colonel-General Albert Bartha, at that time Minister of Defence, as well as about Ferenc Nagy Jnr., the son of Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy, who was then attaché to the Legation in Washington. László Rajk took personal charge of the documents of both of these cases, and issued instructions to the authorities carrying out the investigation not to continue the investigation of the two persons mentioned. I have knowledge, and this from László Rajk himself, that Rajk summoned Albert Bartha to his office in the Ministry of Home Affairs in February, 1947, informed him that incriminating facts were known about him through the investigation of the conspiracy, and suggested to him that he resign from his post as Minister of Defence, and promised that he would not continue the investigation against him. Then Albert Bartha did resign from his post as Minister of Defence and later fled from the country.

I also knew from László Rajk at that time that Rajk visited the Prime Minister, Ferenc Nagy, at the end of 1947 to inform him that the investigation of the conspiracy had produced incriminating facts about Ferenc Nagy Jnr. and he promised that he would not continue his investigations. Ferenc Nagy, having been told this, informed Ferenc Nagy Jnr., the attaché at the Washington Legation,

that an investigation against him was in progress. A result of this was that when the Hungarian Government recalled Ferenc Nagy Jnr. to Budapest he did not return, so that the Government later deprived him of his citizenship. This is what I know about this question.

The President : What do you know about László Rajk taking out certain pamphlets against the state order from the material of the investigation, during the investigation of the conspiracy now under discussion, pamphlets which were found in Szentiványi's flat, and that he also took out a letter which would have confirmed the participation of Ferenc Nagy, the then Prime Minister? Say something about this.

Szebenyi : I know about László Rajk's actions in this direction. It happened in the following manner : at the end of December, 1946, a pamphlet was discovered in the flat of one of the people suspected of featuring in the conspiracy, Dr. Domokos Szentiványi, a former minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary. This pamphlet contained seriously incriminating material on various individuals concerned in the conspiracy, even containing compromising data on László Rajk himself in that Dr. Domokos Szentiványi wrote in one paragraph that a nationalist group was operating within the Government, and the leader of this nationalist group was Rajk himself. Rajk took with him this pamphlet, hid it from the investigation, and summoning the people concerned in the investigation, instructed them not to put questions to the suspects about this pamphlet. I also know that a letter was seized in January, 1947, in the flat of one of the suspected persons which was written by one of the people concerned in the conspiracy to another, and this letter spoke — the letter was authentic — of the fact that a counter-revolutionary group was active and the head of this counter-revolutionary group was Ferenc Nagy. As far as I can remember, the letter also contained the names of Gyulai, Jaczkó, Tibor Hám, Kálmán Saláta and others as members of the counter-revolutionary group and the name of Ferenc Nagy, leader of the group. László Rajk also confiscated this letter and suppressed this evidence. László Rajk was able to carry out these activities in connection with the conspiracy because, on the one hand, he directed the investigation himself and, on the other hand, he used his influence when ever possible to put his own supporters among those conducting the investigation and into the Ministry of Home Affairs. This is how he used his old friends, partly there, partly in the State Defence Department, Ráth, Horváth and Kálcsics, and so tried to push those in the police — László Marschall, András Villányi, Otto Horváth-Königsberg and others — upon whom he looked as his own men, into positions where the greatest possible

amount of material and the greatest possible amount of influence would be concentrated in their hands.

The President : What do you know about László Rajk's collaboration with the Yugoslav information organs, that is, with Lazar Brankov?

Szebenyi : László Rajk — as far as I remember — was made Minister of Home Affairs in March, 1946. He told me in his office at the end of March or at the beginning of April, 1946, that he considered it one of his main tasks to establish the closest contact with the organs representing Yugoslavia. He also told me that this close relationship was to be established because, according to his opinion, Yugoslavia was an example of people's democracy and Tito's Yugoslavia would play a role of increasing importance in the Balkans and in Central Europe. He also told me that this was the reason why he had talks with the Yugoslavs here and concluded an agreement with Colonel Obrad Ciemil, who was at that time the leader of the Yugoslav Military Mission and who is now Yugoslav Minister to London, and with Major Lazar Brankov, who was at that time a member of the Yugoslav Military Mission and later became first counsellor of the Yugoslav Legation to Budapest, according to which he would give assistance in every possible way to their work and would give them information they would need about Hungary, whether by word of mouth, or in writing. So he specially emphasised that he himself would give the necessary confidential information through Lazar Brankov about the political and economic questions of the country, the state defence organs and their activities and at the same time he instructed me, in my capacity as an official of the Ministry, that in case Lazar Brankov turned to me, whatever data about the organisation and the activities of the police or about the civil service organs he asked for, I should deliver him these data even if they were confidential and I should report to him about this. For the rest I can also report that at that time the counsellor of the legation, Lazar Brankov, often visited László Rajk and later, after he had been posted to Budapest, Mrazovich, who was at that time Minister to Budapest and is now Ambassador to Moscow, was also a regular visitor of László Rajk. Rajk received them both with special favour; whatever work he had to do, he interrupted it to be at their disposal.

The President : As for yourself, what state secrets have you delivered to the Yugoslav information organs on László Rajk's instructions?

Szebenyi : On László Rajk's instructions, in more than one case I passed documents or information containing state secrets to Bran-

kov and others. I have already mentioned in my statement that László Rajk gave me general instructions to do so at the end of March or at the beginning of April, 1946 — I don't remember the day exactly any more — But even separately, in every case he gave me specific instructions to hand over the documents or the information — obviously when Lazar Brankov turned to him for it — and demanded immediate reports on the way this had been carried out. So, on László Rajk's specially emphasised instructions, I passed to Brankov data about the activities, the organisation and the structure of the police in the years 1946-47 and 1948. In the first part of 1946 I passed to him, on László Rajk's behalf, the new confidential administrative map of Hungary which had just been published. In the first part of 1947 I passed him, also on László Rajk's instructions, the data of the Ministry of Home Affairs' budget which was also a state secret. On László Rajk's instructions I informed Brankov by word of mouth of certain confidential details of the case of conspiracy which was already in progress, and has already been mentioned here, at the end of 1946 and during the first third of 1947. When László Rajk left the Ministry of Home Affairs in August, 1948, he instructed me to pass confidential material about a certain session of the Council of Ministers to Brankov or to his representative. I carried this out in September, 1948, by ordering it to be handed over to Brankov's representative. Finally I have also to mention that in March, 1947, I ordered, on László Rajk's instructions, certain details of the statement of Károly Kiss, suspect in the case of conspiracy which was just being cleared up at that time, to be handed over to a Yugoslav person reporting as a correspondent of the "Újvidéki Magyar Szó". These details related to the organisation of the fascist "Hungarian Community" which played a role there.

These were the activities I carried out on László Rajk's instructions in connection with the passing of confidential material to Brankov or to his representative.

The President : Were you present in László Rajk's office in 1947 when he received from Brankov the instructions that all those persons who were enemies of Tito's system should be removed from the Hungarian border line at the Yugoslav frontier.

Szebenyi : Yes, I was present.

The President : Speak about that in detail.

Szebenyi : That was in 1947, as far as I remember, in the month of March. Brankov and Lieutenant-Colonel of the police Otto Horváth-Königsberg were present in Rajk's room. Brankov demanded then that László Rajk remove those Hungarian citizens from the Hungarian-Yugoslav frontier zone, who are, according

to the data of the Yugoslav state defence organ, the UDB, enemies of Tito's Yugoslavia. László Rajk was ready to carry out this demand and in order to do so, he immediately gave instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel of the police Otto Horváth-Königsberg who was present. Otto Horváth carried out the instructions and he transplanted about 70 Hungarian families according to the data of the Yugoslav secret police, the UDB, from the Yugoslav-Hungarian border line to the interior of the country and thus, he not only succeeded in putting these 70 Hungarian families in a very difficult situation — they had to leave their houses — but many of them later became enemies of Hungarian democracy because of this unjustified measure which was taken on the basis of the data of the Yugoslav organs.

The President : Were you also present in Rajk's office when he passed a dossier containing secrets of the state defence and of home affairs to generally a Yugoslav intelligence man called Nikola Božanich?

Szebenyi : Yes, I was present. In the first days of May 1947 I was present with others in László Rajk's office when Rajk handed over a dossier containing confidential data about the structure of the state defence organ and the Ministry of Home Affairs and their cadres and confidential data about the methods of work of the state defence department to Colonel of the Police Nikola Božanich, a Yugoslav intelligence man. Rajk carried out this handing over on the pretext of a mutual exchange of material and data of the Hungarian and Yugoslav state defence organs, but it was, in fact, one of the essential elements of Rajk's espionage.

The President : Have the People's Judges any questions to put? (No.) The People's Prosecutor? (No.) The Defence? (No.) Have László Rajk and Lazar Brankov who are involved in the statement any remarks? (No.)

There followed the hearing of witness

Sándor Cseresnyés

The President : Tell us how long you served in the British espionage service and with what spies you were in contact in the course of your service?

Cseresnyés : I came to the Psychological Warfare Branch, an organ of the British spy-ring, in January 1944, and until my demobilisation from the British army, that is, until October 1946, I served there. In the course of my service I was in contact with Major Routledge and Saunders, commanders of the Psychological Warfare Branch.

The President : When did you come into contact with the Yugoslav intelligence service?

Cseresnyés : In September 1944, in Bari, Italy, I established contact with the Yugoslav OZNA.

The President : With which Yugoslav spies, by name, were you in contact?

Cseresnyés : In Bari, with OZNA Captain Sándor Löwy, operating under the alias Markovics, in Klagenfurt with a person from Bled named Peter, who came from Slovenia, in Belgrade, with OZNA Major Svetosar Čoporda. My Yugoslav connection in Budapest was Rudolf Čaćinovich, deputy head of the commercial mission of the Yugoslav Legation in Budapest.

The President : Tell us what general tasks were assigned to you by the British and Yugoslav intelligence service with regard to Hungary?

Cseresnyés : I was to call on my old friend László Rajk in Budapest to renew my friendship with him. Rajk would then find a place for me in the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The President : Do you know who were the members of the Trotskyite group organised by Rajk in the internment camps in France?

Cseresnyés : I became acquainted with Rajk in September 1937, in Spain, where both of us were volunteers in the International Brigade. Later we were together in France in the concentration camps of St. Cyprien, Gurs and Vernet. There, László Rajk did Trotskyist undermining work. He gathered around himself the anti-Soviet, anti-democratic and anti-communist elements, creating a Trotskyite group from among them. Of the members of the group I can recall Imre Gayer and László Mátyás. There were also others whose names, however, I cannot recall any more. In the course of this activity, László Rajk pursued the aim of disrupting the Hungarian group of the International Brigade, causing demoralisation in their ranks and turning them against the Soviet Union. By so doing he actively promoted the persecution of the International Brigades by the French police.

The President : What do you know of the Trotskyite undermining work of Yugoslav persons in these same internment camps?

Cseresnyés : From the ranks of the Yugoslav international volunteers detained in the internment camps, a Trotskyite group was formed under the leadership of Kosta-Nadj, present Yugoslav lieutenant-general and army corps commander. In this group were united the anti-Soviet, anti-communist and anti-democratic elements

of the Yugoslav groups. From this group of Kosta-Nadj I can still recall Max Milich, now major-general, Ivich and others. The aim pursued by this Trotskyite group was to disrupt the unity of the Yugoslav group, to divide the unity of the International Brigades, to promote the activity of the French police in the ranks of the International Brigades, and it took a chauvinist, nationalist stand. It was due to their forceful behaviour that the Yugoslav Trotskyites as it were assumed a leading role in the Trotskyist work of the groups formed by the other nationalities.

The President : Do you know anything of László Rajk's connections with the head of the Spanish Trotskyites whom the People's Court in Barcelona sentenced to death in 1938?

Cseresnyés : In October, 1939, in the concentration camp of Vernet, László Rajk established close contact with Enrique Andreher Gironella, deputy secretary general of the Trotskyist party POUM in Spain. In the course of the bloody rising in Barcelona on May 2, 1937, this Gironella in co-operation with Franco's government, with Franco's authorities and with the fascist government and the fascist army, organised a rising against the republican army and government. The People's Court in Barcelona sentenced him to death, in September 1938. He succeeded in escaping to French territory. In the spring of 1940 the men of the French secret service helped him escape to Mexico City.

The President : Do you know anything of László Rajk's connections with the French secret service, with the Deuxième Bureau?

Cseresnyés : Yes, I do. From the concentration camp László Rajk went out several times to the espionage organ of the spy net called the Deuxième Bureau, the head of which was a captain. These visits of László Rajk attracted the attention of us, members of the International Brigade, and since I was on friendly terms with him my companions asked me to inquire from Rajk what these visits of his meant. I asked him, and László Rajk said that once he was called on by this captain, as an acquaintance of his living in England had inquired about his well-being through the channels of the French secret service. On the second occasion László Rajk told me that the captain inquired where he wanted to take up residence after his release. The things I heard from László Rajk I told to the others in the International Brigade, but we did not believe him. The suspicion arose in us that László Rajk must have connections with the French Deuxième Bureau.

The President : Did László Rajk render assistance to you in carrying out the spying tasks in the Ministry of Home Affairs

which were assigned to you by the British and Yugoslav intelligence?

Cseresnyés : When I returned to Hungary, I visited László Rajk in the Ministry of Home Affairs. There I told him frankly that during and after the war I was in the service of the Psychological Warfare Branch. I told him of my connections with the Yugoslav OZNA. László Rajk's answer was that he knew, he was informed of everything. A short while afterwards he called me to the Ministry of Home Affairs, telling me that he was about to organise a press department in the Ministry of Home Affairs, and that he would appoint me head of that department. He also added that concerning my employment, I must not report to any official organ, that he personally would fix up everything. On January 13, 1947, he called me to him again, telling me that the press department of the Ministry of Home Affairs would start work that same day and that I would be its head. He told me that the main job of the press department would be a nation-wide popularisation of his person and of his personal policy. He also added that I should make the press feel that behind the press department at the Ministry of Home Affairs stood the whole weight of the administration of home affairs, and first of all he himself, the Minister of Home Affairs, László Rajk. The purpose of László Rajk's instructions was to push himself forward, excessively to increase his own importance and at the same time to push the significance of the other personalities of the Hungarian democratic regime, primarily those of Mátyás Rákosi, Mihály Farkas and Ernő Gerő, into the background.

The President : Do you know anything about the careers of Gyula Fischer, Zilahi, Korondy, these individuals with reactionary attitudes? How were they able to get into positions with the aid of László Rajk? Outline this.

Cseresnyés : László Rajk hated the working class and while he was at the head of the Ministry of Home Affairs, he prevented people of working class origin getting into responsible or partly responsible positions in the Ministry of Home Affairs. On the contrary, he filled the Ministry of Home Affairs with former reactionary and Horthyist civil servants, with gendarmes and police officers, and other elements opposed to democracy because he knew that on account of their chauvinist attitudes, opposing the working class and the people's democracy, they would gladly be ready instruments of his subversive plans. I must mention Dr. Gyula Fischer, head of a department in the Ministry, the head of the presidential department, that is, the person who directed the personnel policy of the Ministry, had been in 1944 during the German occupation the

commander of a forced labour battalion. The municipal department, that is, the department which was in charge of the affairs of the capital and of the Hungarian cities, was in the hands of Dr. László Zilahi, a very wealthy member of the big bourgeoisie, with the rank of ministerial councillor, who fled to Paris simultaneously with László Rajk's departure. At the police the situation was similar. László Rajk's favourites Korondy and other Horthyist gendarmes led, with the rank of colonels, the responsible police departments of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The President : In connection with László Rajk, what assignments did you get from the Yugoslav intelligence and how did you carry these out?

Cseresnyés : That I should ascertain László Rajk's loyalty, László Rajk's friendship for Yugoslavia. I was on terms of friendship with László Rajk. We talked on several occasions and I became convinced that László Rajk was a follower of Tito, his government and his regime, without reservations, and at the same time he was full of hatred for the leading personalities of the Hungarian Government and for the Hungarian people's democracy. In December 1947, for instance, László Rajk said of Tito that he was a brilliant statesman, a talented strategist, a personality on whom the whole world looked with the highest respect. Soon after this I asked him what his opinion was on the domestic and foreign policy of the Yugoslav government. László Rajk said that he was in full agreement with this and he said that the foreign and domestic policy of the Hungarian Government should also be run on similar lines, following the Yugoslav pattern. László Rajk spoke with hatred of certain personalities in the Hungarian Government; he especially objected to the fact that the making of Hungarian policy was first of all in the hands of Mátyás Rákosi, Mihály Farkas, Ernő Gerő, among others, though he, László Rajk, had the mission of directing and leading the fate of Hungary, the policy of Hungary.

The President : You have already mentioned a Yugoslav spy, named Čačinovich, with whom you spoke on several occasions. In the course of your conversations how did this Čačinovich evaluate the importance of László Rajk's person before you, in connection with Tito's plans?

Cseresnyés : As early as 1947 Čačinovich said that László Rajk was the Hungarian politician who was regarded with the highest expectations by the Yugoslav government and was considered the most important. László Rajk's person and activities were followed with special attention in Belgrade and he was counted upon. This is what he said.

Then

Dr. Györgyi Tarisznyás

teacher at a commercial school was examined as witness.

The President : First say something about how you met the Yugoslav Minister Mrazovich.

Tarisznyás : I met the Yugoslav Minister Mrazovich at a hunt in January 1948 which was held in Dr. Antal Klein's hunting reserve at Biritópuszta near Paks.

The President : After you made his acquaintance did you also visit the Yugoslav Legation in Budapest?

Tarisznyás : Yes. After our first meeting I again met Yugoslav Minister Mrazovich at a reception given by the Polish Legation in the Park Club and we became good friends. He visited me a number of times at Paks, where I lived with my parents, and sometimes when I came to Pest I too visited him at the Yugoslav Legation.

The President : Did he turn to you with a definite request in September, 1948, to enable him to go hunting with his friends in the Antal Klein hunting reserve?

Tarisznyás : Yes.

The President : Say something about that.

Tarisznyás : As I was returning home from school one day in September, 1948, I met Mrazovich near our house. He complained that he was being watched and that he had to meet with his Hungarian friends so that it should not cause any unpleasantness. He asked me to speak to Antal Klein to allow him to come down to Biritópuszta with a number of his friends one day in the near future. I told him that we could immediately go over to the Baumann restaurant because I knew that Antal Klein was there. That is in Paks. We went there. Dr. Antal Klein and Mrazovich talked about him coming down to hunt one day in the very near future. Then Mrazovich asked me to accompany him on the hunt. I saw no obstacle to this and agreed.

The President : Now tell us how this so-called hunt was organised, how and with whom Mrazovich arrived?

Tarisznyás : One day soon after that we went out to the MÁVAUT station near the 116th kilometre stone on the Szekszárd road. A few hundred metres from there there was a lane where a gig drawn by two horses was waiting. Antal Klein was sitting in the carriage. He said that he had been asked by Mrazovich to come for him himself by car. After we had waited for about half an hour Mrazovich's car appeared, from which he and a man wearing a green felt coat and dark glasses got out. After being confronted with them

at the police I know that that certain person was László Rajk, former Minister of Foreign Affairs. His face appeared familiar to me but I did not recognise it then. We mounted the carriage and went along the lane in the direction of the Biritópuszta. We stopped on the puszta, far from the houses. Antal Klein remained in the carriage. He explained how to reach the nearest keeper's hut where we could also prepare a snack from the food we had brought with us. Mrazovich and the man in the green felt coat took two guns with them and we started off in the given direction.

The President : In your opinion what was the behaviour of Mrazovich and László Rajk during the so-called hunt?

Tarisznyás : When we reached the keeper's hut I noticed that a man in hunting clothes was waiting there, carrying a gun. He was of medium height, and might have been about 40 years old. Mrazovich asked me to stay in the keeper's hut and prepare the snack. It struck me that this man had not been introduced to me, neither had the other one when he got out of the car. Then they talked, walking up and down in front of the keeper's hut, and also farther away from the keeper's hut. Now and then they came close to me. I heard that one of the men was speaking in some Slav language. I am certain that it was not Russian, but perhaps Serbian. The man in the green felt coat spoke Hungarian and Mrazovich interpreted between the two. I could understand a few words of the conversation when they came near me, for instance that Mrazovich was speaking about Yugoslavia and said that action had to be taken. The other man, that is the one I did not know, spoke in that Slav language so that I could not understand what he was saying. The man in the green felt coat spoke Hungarian. Then they spoke about someone called Pálffy who would be made Minister of Defence. I also heard the names of Ministers Rákosi and Farkas mentioned a number of times. When they had finished their talk they came into the keeper's hut and ate a snack.

When Mrazovich saw that I was in a very bad mood, he turned to me and started to talk to me. Then we started on our way back to the carriage. The unknown man, however, went to his two companions and together they went in the direction of Csámpapuszta. After the car had left, I told Mrazovich that I had the feeling that he had had no intention of hunting, he only wanted to meet someone and I was needed to supply the character of an excursion to the hunt, that is, I said that I was invited superfluously because it seemed that he did not want to meet me but had other intentions. Mrazovich made excuses and said that the man in the keeper's hut with the green felt coat was an old acquaintance of his and they got talking

so that they forgot all about hunting. Then we climbed into the carriage and Antal Klein took us back to the Szekszárd road, where Mrazovich and László Rajk got into the car. Before the car started Mrazovich called me aside and told me that I should not tell anyone about this meeting. I was annoyed then and told him that it was quite unnecessary to invite me because it was not my company which was important to him. They then left for Budapest, I got into Antal Klein's carriage and we returned to Paks. On the way I told him that I had misgivings about the meeting, and it seemed that my person was important only to cover up for something which was not quite straightforward.

The President : Please come here. (*Tarisznyás steps forward to the judge's platform.*) Do you recognize the person on this photograph as the one who waited in the keeper's hut? Look at it.

Tarisznyás (looking at the photograph) : Yes, I recognise it.

The President : Are you certain?

Tarisznyás : Yes.

The President : I have established that this picture on which the witness recognised the person in question is a photograph of Rankovich which is included in the documents.

Then

Antal Klein

was examined.

The President : Tell us when, and under what circumstances, you met Minister Mrazovich.

Klein : At a Polish party given here in Budapest at the Park Club at the end of January 1948 which I attended with Györgyi, the daughter of our chief town clerk Gerő Tarisznyás. When we reached the Park Club all the rooms were already crowded with guests, but as we entered the Yugoslav Minister Mrazovich immediately came up to us. He knew us from a hunt arranged at my place, attached himself to us and, greeting me briefly, began warmly to pay court to Györgyi Tarisznyás and remained in Györgyi Tarisznyás' company all night. We left for home the day after the party. Eight to ten days later, when I went into Paks — Paks is a few kilometres from Biritópuszta — I met the chief town clerk, Gerő Tarisznyás, who told me that he had just received a telephone call from Minister Mrazovich that he was coming down that same evening for dinner. Tarisznyás asked me also to stay so that the Minister should have company. I stayed on, and Mrazovich did in fact arrive by car from Budapest between 7 and 8 o'clock. He stayed for dinner and I was there too. We talked all through dinner. During the whole time he

concentrated his attention on Györgyi Tarisznyás. I went home and he probably returned to Budapest by car in the morning hours. This happened again in a few days' time. He frequently visited Tarisznyás' house. After that I did not see Minister Mrazovich for a number of months only heard that he was paying a great deal of attention to Györgyi Tarisznyás, visited them frequently and the news was current that he even wanted to marry her. That is how I met him.

The President : Let us finally get to the point, how did you meet Mrazovich? How and under what circumstances did he turn to you with the request to organise hunting parties on your estate in Biritópuszta?

Klein : As I have explained I did not see very much of the Yugoslav Minister Mrazovich between February 1948 and the autumn. Once, at the end of September 1948 we visited Paks. Györgyi Tarisznyás mentioned that Minister Mrazovich would like to hunt at my place with one or two companions and she asked for my permission. I answered that there was no objection to this, it would be a pleasure. Later Mrazovich asked that, as he wanted to come down in his car with one or two friends to go hunting, I should do him the favour of coming by carriage to the so-called Road 6, the main Budapest-Szekszárd road, to the 116th kilometrestone, where the lane meets the road and where there was also a MÁVÁUT stop. I should wait for him there and take him further as no car could pass along the sandy lane. He asked that I should drive the horse and carriage because he wanted to hunt incognito. I promised to do this. A few days later, at the beginning of October, I went to the main road, Road 6, with my carriage at the stipulated time, where the main road crosses the lane and waited there. When I arrived Györgyi Tarisznyás was already there and she told me that Mrazovich had also invited her and asked her to come. About half an hour later Minister Mrazovich arrived. He and a man wearing a green felt coat and black spectacles, whom I did not know, got out of the car. After a short greeting both of them seated themselves in my carriage. I drove the carriage along the lane as far as the edge of Biritópuszta. I stopped a good distance from the buildings where they got off together with Györgyi Tarisznyás, took with them the food brought by Györgyi Tarisznyás as well as two guns, and the man in the green felt coat, who was unknown to me, Mrazovich and Györgyi Tarisznyás went into the hunting reserve. They asked me to wait for them. They would return in about two to two and a half hours' time when I should take them back to the car in the main road. Then they left. What happened then I do not know. They returned two and a half hours later and then I took them back by carriage to the main road.

They got into the car waiting on the main road, and two of them went off while I took Györgyi Tarisznyás to Paks in my carriage.

The President : What impression did that whole "hunt" make on you? Was it not clear that this was only a so-called hunt which served to enable Mrazovich to meet certain persons in secret?

Klein : Well, in the beginning it seemed quite natural to me that Mrazovich wanted to go hunting in Paks because I knew that my hunting reserve was quite well-stocked with wild animals. I could also understand his asking me to take him along the lane with my horse and carriage because it is impossible to drive along the lane by car as it is a sandy, uneven road. I also understood that he wanted to hunt incognito. But when they returned after two to two and half hours without anything in the bag, I became suspicious of the whole thing. I was not introduced to the man in the green coat with the black spectacles. The fact that they came from Budapest to go hunting and the whole hunt did not last longer than two to two and a half hours also roused my suspicions, as well as the fact that they returned without any bag from an area rich in wild animals. I then took Györgyi Tarisznyás back and saw that she was also in a bad mood. I asked her what happened and who were these people, who was he, how did he get here? She said that she did not know what had happened, and this was unpleasant enough. She did not know what had actually taken place here because it was certainly not a hunt.

The President : What part did László Rajk play in this so-called hunt?

Klein : I did not know László Rajk, I do not know him, I have never seen him. Now that I have been put face to face with him by the authorities, I recognise in him that man who was present then with Mrazovich in the green felt coat and spectacles.

The President : Now you recognise him?

Antal Klein (looking for a long time at László Rajk and his companions) : Yes!

The President : Have the People's Judges any questions to put to the witness? (*None*) The People's Prosecutor? The Defence? (*None*) Any remarks, László Rajk?

Rajk : None.

The President orders a short recess.

After the recess the trial continues with the examination of

Dezső Németh.

The President : Tell me when and under what circumstances you were organised by the Yugoslav information organs and with whom you were in contact from among the Yugoslav intelligence agents?

Németh : I made the acquaintance of György Pálffy in the Ministry of Defence in the autumn of 1945. In the course of our conversations we arrived at the conclusion that we were both chauvinists and enemies of the people's democratic system. Because of our similar and common political views a mutual good relationship developed between me and Pálffy and as the result of this mutual good relationship, I was appointed with Pálffy's assistance to be chief-of-staff of the frontier guard in the autumn of 1946. At that time, Pálffy was commander-in-chief of the frontier guard. Pálffy summoned me at the end of 1946 or at the beginning of 1947 — now I don't know exactly, I don't remember the time — and told me that he was in espionage contact with the Yugoslav representative Lazar Brankov, who wanted, on his proposal, to enter into personal contact with me, too. Pálffy instructed me that I should inform Brankov in detail about everything interesting him in connection with the frontier guard. He remarked that he had chosen me to enter into this contact because he knew that I was chauvinistic and consequently an enemy of the democratic system. I agreed to Pálffy's proposal to enter into espionage relations with Brankov and two or three days after this conversation I called upon Brankov in his office. We agreed that in every case I should personally bring the espionage information asked for by Brankov to him at his office or his flat after we had first spoken by telephone. Brankov remarked then that later he would also turn to Pálffy for news material in connection with the frontier guard, but even then, I should bring the detailed data to him, in the way we arranged.

The President : What military state secrets did you later pass on to the Yugoslav information organs?

Németh : First of all Brankov asked me to inform him about the questions of the organisation of the frontier guards, the data about the number and the arms of the frontier guards, as well as the data about the number, the station and the list of commanders and political characterisation of the commanders of the different battalions and companies of the frontier guard. I always delivered these data to Brankov. Brankov especially emphasised that, first of all, the data concerning the formations of the frontier guard stationed on the Yugoslav border line interested him and he asked me immediately to communicate to him even the slightest change concerning them. I promised that, too. These data I handed over to Brankov were all military secrets.

The President : Did you get instructions from the Yugoslav information service about the troops of the frontier guard, about the guarding of the frontier?

Németh : Yes, I did. Of course, I got this also through Brankov and Pálffy. First of all I got instructions to supplement the officer corps of the frontier guard formations, mainly with old, fascist, chauvinist minded officers and to place them in leading positions, because these officers were, according to the Yugoslav intelligence people, very easy to organise for the Yugoslav information organs because of their political views and their past crimes. Besides that they gave instructions concerning the Yugoslav-Hungarian frontier, that we should have formations of the smallest possible number on this frontier in order to carry out the very strong illegal traffic established by the Yugoslav information organs at as many places as possible and in the least dangerous way and with the least trouble. The Yugoslav information organs also gave instructions concerning the Rumanian and Czechoslovak frontier; in connection with these, the instructions I got were to carry on such activities of the frontier guard formations there as would cause dissatisfaction, trouble and an anti-democratic atmosphere, and the political relations between the neighbouring country and the Hungarian people's democracy should be damaged. But they emphasised first of all that, concerning the Soviet frontier, our task was to find out those points of this frontier which are the least controlled by the Soviet frontier guard and are suitable for the Yugoslav information organs to send Benderist, fascist, imperialist and other anti-Soviet intelligence agents to and fro across the frontier. My task was not only to discover these points, but also to prepare these points for this traffic.

The President : When you were sent to Moscow in 1948 in the capacity of military attaché, did you receive some special tasks from Pálffy?

Németh : Pálffy summoned me to him at the beginning of May 1948 — I remember that clearly — and told me that according to the instructions of the Yugoslav information organs he would manage to get me sent to Moscow as military attaché. He said that the Yugoslavs were satisfied with my espionage activities and, therefore, he sent me to Moscow with the instructions that I should carry on this espionage activity for the Yugoslavs in the Soviet Union. Concerning my activities there, Pálffy instructed me first of all to learn the Russian language in order to get in touch through that with the Soviet people. I should gain their confidence and, misleading them, I should get espionage data from them. Pálffy considered it a very important thing to establish close contacts with the other military attachés in Moscow, for I could get important data, data for espionage, from them, which was especially interesting

and important for the Yugoslav intelligence organs. Pálffy instructed me that I should try to get secret data about the organisational structure, the armament, the supplies and the discipline of the Soviet Army even before the Yugoslav intelligence organs entered into contact with me. He told me that the Yugoslavs would probably only establish contact with me later, when I had already spent some time in Moscow. He explained this by saying that they were prepared for the Soviet organs not to trust me in the first period. He called my attention to the fact that I should just because of this be very careful in the beginning to overcome this first lack of confidence on the part of the Soviet organs in the interests of the success of my espionage activity.

The President : Finally, when and with whom did you enter into contact in Moscow? Did you meet Mrazovich, did you talk with him?

Németh : I entered into contact with Karlo Mrazovich, Yugoslav Ambassador to Moscow in the spring of 1949 in Moscow. We first met at a reception. Mrazovich approached me and referring to Pálffy and Brankov, told me that on the instructions of the Yugoslav intelligence organs and in their name, he would establish contact with me. After that he asked me what instructions Pálffy had given to me. I told him about the instructions I had received from Pálffy and Mrazovich asked me, on the basis of these instructions, to hand over to him the espionage material I had collected until that time. On the occasion of the next meeting which we had fixed before, and which was also at a reception, I handed over to Mrazovich in a closed envelope the espionage material containing data about the Soviet Army that I had collected before in writing. Mrazovich told me then that for reasons of secrecy, we would in future always meet at receptions and we would use these good opportunities to talk with one another without attracting any attention.

At our next meeting, Mrazovich told me that until the resolution of the Information Bureau, the Yugoslav representatives in the Soviet Union could very easily get information because they enjoyed great confidence. But this opportunity did not exist any more. My first task would be to find out those data which refer to the changes taking place within the Soviet Army since the last espionage reports. Mrazovich commissioned me to try to get secret data about the Soviet Army from the officers of the Ministry of Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and instructed me to find out the political views, concerning Tito's policy, of the military attachés of the peoples' democratic countries in Moscow and the personnel of the Hungarian Embassy to Moscow. According to these tasks and instructions

given by Mrazovich, I acquired espionage data about the organisational structure, the armaments, the military training and discipline of the Soviet Army and the standpoint taken by the military attachés of the peoples' democratic countries in Moscow and the personnel of the Hungarian Embassy to Moscow in connection with Tito's policy as well. I succeeded in collecting these espionage data especially because of the confidence shown by the officers of the Soviet Army and the military attachés of the peoples' democratic countries towards me in my capacity as the military attaché of a friendly country. I handed over the espionage data I collected to Mrazovich on the occasion of our next meeting by word of mouth and again in writing, in a sealed envelope, and these data were almost entirely of a secret nature. On the occasion of delivering the data to Mrazovich I asked him what the situation was with Brankov, now that Brankov's anti-Titoite statement had become generally known, and whether it was not to be feared that Brankov would expose our former spy connections. Mrazovich assured me we did not have to fear this as Brankov's anti-Tito declaration was nothing else but a provocative bluff to enable him to stay where he was and to continue his spying activities against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. I met Mrazovich some four or five times in Moscow.

Next there follows the hearing of witness

József Rex.

The President : Tell us, since when you have collaborated with the Yugoslav intelligence service?

Rex : Since August 1945.

The President : By whom were you brought into the organisation of the Yugoslav agents?

Rex : By Lazar Brankov, then deputy commander of the Yugoslav Military Mission.

The President : Did Brankov make use of any materials compromising to you, in connection with your being brought into the organisation?

Rex : Yes. On one occasion when I visited him in August 1945, Brankov told me that Rankovich, the head of the OZNA, had sent him material compromising to my person. Brankov told me that during the war in 1941, I had deserted the partisan unit in which I was serving and that I had concealed this fact when entering the Hungarian Communist Party. First I tried to deny this insinuation but since it was true I admitted it to Brankov. Brankov then made me face the dilemma of either agreeing to

join the Yugoslav intelligence service as an agent or the Yugoslav Military Mission would hand over the compromising material to the Hungarian authorities concerned. At that time I could see no other way out. I consented. With this my enrollment was completed.

The President : What tasks, in particular what espionage tasks did Brankov entrust to you before the end of 1946, within the sphere of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

Rex : Brankov commissioned me to collect and to hand over to him confidential material concerning the organisation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as character sketches of the leading officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the diplomatic personnel of the Hungarian Legations abroad. Further I was to give him confidential material in general on the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and facts about international treaties between Hungary and foreign countries.

The President : How did you become secretary of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society? Did Brankov play any role in this?

Rex : Yes. Prior to the establishment of the society, in September 1945, Brankov advised me to try to obtain the post of secretary in the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society, this being an important post for the Yugoslav intelligence service. He told me he would back my nomination and election in every way. By methods unknown to me Brankov succeeded in attaining this. I was nominated and in October 1945 I was elected secretary of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society.

The President : Do you know that the Yugoslav intelligence organs, and among them Brankov, were utilising this Hungarian-Yugoslav Society for spying purposes and in general for undermining work directed against the Hungarian state order?

Rex : Yes, I do. A short while after my election Brankov had a lengthy conversation with me on the work of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society and on my work. Brankov explained to me then that the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society must by all possible means endeavour to popularise Tito and his government with the broad Hungarian masses and to make Tito's person appear to the Hungarian masses as being not only the leader of the peoples of Yugoslavia but also as the man meant to be the leader of all the nations of the Balkans. Brankov also stressed to me that the Society would also have to publish printed propaganda material corresponding with the Yugoslav chauvinist nationalist policy and that performances, exhibitions etc. following the same line and with the same content must also be arranged. As another important task, Brankov pointed out the necessity of building up a nation-wide

organisation of branches of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society. As Brankov put it, a very important role would later have to be played by this network of branches with regard to the aims in Hungary of the Yugoslav intelligence organs.

The President : Is it true that at the Hungarian Legation in Belgrade you had stolen some documents containing Hungarian state secrets and that you handed them over to a Yugoslav agent by the name of Peter Dobrovich?

Rex : It is true. In 1947 I was serving at the Hungarian Legation in Belgrade as second secretary of the Legation. Then I stole from the Legation some material concerning the activity of the Legation, and character sketches of every employee working at the Legation. I stole as well confidential data of the information material concerning Hungary's political and economic situation which the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent to the Hungarian Legation in Belgrade for their information, and I handed it over to Peter Dobrovich, an official of administrative grade in the Yugoslav Ministry of Foreign Affairs and a collaborator of the Yugoslav intelligence service.

The President : Did you then return from Belgrade, that is to say were you called back to Budapest?

Rex : Yes.

The President : Did you then renew your espionage connections with Brankov? What tasks did he assign to you and what kind of news material did you give him at that time?

Rex : When in February 1948 I returned from Belgrade Brankov called me to him and renewed that connection. At that time Brankov was already First Counsellor of the Legation and at a certain period he was temporary chargé d'affaires. Saying that he had very little time, Brankov connected me with Boarov whose activities were covered by his post of press attaché of the Yugoslav Legation. He too was an agent of the Yugoslav intelligence service. So on later occasions I gave to Boarov confidential material for Brankov, about the work of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, of the activities of the state offices and some character sketches of leading state officials.

The President : Do the People's Judges have any questions to the witness? (*None*). The People's Prosecutor? (*None*). The Defence? (*None*). Lazar Brankov! Do you have any remarks to make?

Brankov : None.

The President : Is it true?

Brankov : Yes.

The President orders

József Hegedüs
to be conducted to the witness stand.

The President : Tell us first, since when did you co-operate with the Yugoslav intelligence, how did they transfer you illegally from Yugoslavia to Hungary and how did you cover up your underground activities here?

Hegedüs : In 1944 I was a soldier in the Yugoslav Army. In November I was adjutant to the city commander in Szabadka. That was when I was brought in as an agent of the intelligence service by József Stumberg, a major in the OZNA. Later at the end of January 1945 József Stumberg, Nikola Krek and I crossed the border illegally. All three of us were in uniform. Before we crossed the border I was given false credentials by József Stumberg, according to which I was a correspondent of the Yugoslav paper "Szabad Vajdaság".

The President : Among the Yugoslav intelligence agents, with whom were you in contact in Hungary?

Hegedüs : At the beginning of March, Stumberg went from Budapest to Belgrade. At the same time the members of the Military Mission, Major Brankov and Major Javorsky, arrived in Budapest from Debrecen. Both of them were Yugoslav intelligence officers. I was handed over to these two by Stumberg before he left for Belgrade. Later, in 1946, Nikola Smiljanich, an OZNA major, arrived in Budapest, and also engaged in espionage in Hungary, but he covered up for his work by being a member of the Yugoslav Military Mission. Then Javorsky put me in contact with him and later in January, in 1948, I established direct contact with Lazar Brankov, First Counsellor of the Budapest Legation, and in early February, Brankov transferred me to Živko Boarov who was also an OZNA officer.

The President : You said that you took up connections with Brankov also. When this connection with Brankov had been established in 1948, what assignment did you get from him relating to the work of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society?

Hegedüs : In January 1948 I worked at the Reparations Office. In the middle of January Anton Rob, who was secretary general of the Federation of South Slavs and who was also an agent of the OZNA in Hungary, phoned me to go and see him. He said that Brankov wanted me to go and see him. Brankov instructed me that in the interest of the Yugoslav intelligence organisations I would have to go to the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society. And he determined immediately what sort of work I would have to do :

I would have to build up the espionage network of the provincial and Budapest groups. In the middle of February Brankov linked me with Živko Boarov.

The President : Do you know anything concerning Brankov's espionage activities in Hungary following his apparent break with the Tito government?

Hegedüs : Yes, I do.

The President : Speak about this.

Hegedüs : Following this, after he had transferred me to Boarov, I did not meet Brankov for a few months. On November 29, 1948, when the fifth anniversary of the Yugoslav Republic was celebrated in the Madách Theatre, Brankov delivered the official address. Before he held his speech he warned me that he wanted to speak with me. After he had concluded his address, a cultural programme followed. Neither I nor Brankov attended the programme but we stayed in the smoking room, talking for about an hour. Brankov said that his statement which had appeared in the Hungarian papers, and according to which he had broken with Tito and his government, was only feigned, he would stand by Tito and his government in the future too, and he asked that I should continue collecting espionage data for him. Then I met Brankov on three other occasions at the headquarters of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society where Brankov displayed interest in the work of the Society. I informed him. In January 1949 I fell seriously ill and since that time I have not met Brankov. I have not seen him since.

The President : Don't you know anything else?

Hegedüs : No, I don't.

The President : Do the People's Judges have any questions? (None). The People's Prosecutor? (None). The Counsel for the Defence? (None). Lazar Brankov! Do you have any remarks?

Brankov : I have none.

The President : Does the testimony of the witness correspond to the truth?

Brankov : Yes.

Dr. Péter Jankó, the President of the Court orders a brief recess. After the recess the trial continues with the examination of

Ljubitsa Hribar.

The President : Answer the question, how did Javorsky and Čačinovich draw you in for espionage activity against Hungary?

Hribar : I had known Rudolf Čačinovich since the war and I was good friends with him. Both of us lived here as refugees. I got to know Javorsky in 1945. After the war I went to the Yugoslav Military Mission because of the registration. On this occasion Javorsky received me and questioned me in detail under what circumstances I lived, how I lived, what my connections were and he asked me whether I intended to return to Yugoslavia. I said that I would not go to Yugoslavia because I wanted to live in Hungary. Some time later I again visited the Mission for a certificate to be allowed to live here. Javorsky questioned me again about my acquaintances and then he declared that I as a Yugoslav citizen living in Hungary was obliged to help the Yugoslav government in everything. He said that they knew that I had a wide circle of acquaintances in the aristocracy and in the church and that these people were very interesting, therefore my duty was to try to find out how they felt about the Yugoslav and the Hungarian governments, what their political views and their connections were, and should report all this to him in detail. In this way Javorsky called upon me to work secretly for the intelligence service. Čačinovich also spent much time with me for this purpose, taking advantage of our old friendship. When they saw that their polite attempts failed, they started to threaten me. In the summer of 1947 Čačinovich called me up in the Szent István hospital, saying that he absolutely had to speak with me. When I met him at the agreed time, he showed me a Yugoslav newspaper in which they had written that my brother in Yugoslavia had been arrested as a member of a conspiracy against the government. Čačinovich declared that if I were not willing to be helpful and work for the UDB, my brother would be sentenced to death. He also declared that he knew very well how fond I was of my family and therefore he had already reported my consent to Belgrade. I did not answer anything, and he took my silence for consent. This is how I came in contact with the Yugoslav intelligence.

The President : Finally, how did they deprive you of your liberty, how did they arrest you and take you into custody in the building of the Yugoslav Legation? Talk about this.

Hribar : In December 1947 Čačinovich sent me to the Yugoslav Consulate, taking advantage of a pending visa application of mine. When I arrived, Consul Smiljanich received me and declared that I would not get anything like a visa, for I wanted to go to Vienna not to visit my daughter living there but because I did not want to work for them and wanted to get away. Then they arrested me and held me in custody for two days there in the building.

The President : Following this they took you across the Hungarian-Yugoslav frontier. Then they brought you back. Talk about this, how it happened.

Hribar : After this, two days later, in the evening two employees of the Legation brought me down and forced me to get into a car. They warned me not to cause any disturbance. Another civilian, unknown to me, and the chauffeur named Nikolaj got into the car and we started towards the frontier. At that time I was not aware of where we were going. A little before the frontier we stopped. They said I had to get out and took me over to the other side. There, in Yugoslav territory, a completely closed truck was already waiting. They made me get in and I was guarded there by soldiers. In a short while they brought into the car three men whose hands and eyes were bandaged and bound. Then the truck started again. In a few hours we arrived in the yard of a building. Before I could get out my eyes, too, were bound and they took me into a gaol and there my eyes were unbound.

The President : How were you then held in custody in Belgrade at the UDB? Who examined you, on what did they question you and finally what was demanded of you?

Hribar : I was kept there from about December 15, until January 5, 1948, then Blažich, Javorsky and an unknown UDB officer inquired of me about Mr. Pettitt, British Consul General in Budapest and about my connections with the British Legation. Then they instructed me that I must do intelligence work in Hungary against the Hungarian government and at the same time they wanted me to act as liaison between the Yugoslav and British intelligence agents. When I did not want to give my consent, they threatened that I, too, would be liquidated. After this they made me sign a statement in which I bound myself to work for the Yugoslav UDB.

The President : And when you signed this?

Hribar : When I signed this, in about an hour they took me out of the gaol and put me into a car. Then we stopped again at a street corner and Čačinovich got into the car, and then we went again to the frontier. At the frontier the driver called Nikolaj stepped out with three passports, arranged the matter of the passports, and then they took me to Budapest almost to my house where they set me free.

Then

Živko Boarov,

a former employee of the Yugoslav Legation was examined by the People's Court.

The President : To begin with, speak of the role you had among the Yugoslav intelligence agents in Hungary.

Boarov : I was one of the associates in Hungary of the Yugoslav intelligence organisation. I covered up for these activities by my appointment as press attaché at the Yugoslav Legation.

The President : Do you know what part Lazar Brankov had in the so-called intelligence organisation and with what diplomatic appointment he covered up for this activity?

Boarov : Brankov was an associate of the Yugoslav intelligence service in Hungary until 1947 ; from 1947 on he was the chief representative of the UDB, the Yugoslav intelligence service. He covered up for this role first as a member of the Yugoslav Military Mission, later as its head, and then in 1947 when the Mission was transformed into the Legation as the First Counsellor of the Legation.

The President : During the years 1947 and 1948 what intelligence, espionage, assignments did you get from Brankov?

Boarov : With regard to my work, Brankov instructed me in 1947 to popularise Tito's person and policy in Hungary and then to direct the work of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society according to the interests of Yugoslav policy, to direct in the same way the magazine of the Hungarian-Yugoslav Society, the "Déli Csillag". Then he instructed me that I should also direct the publication of the Democratic Federation of the South Slavs of Hungary, the "Nase Novine" also according to the interests of Yugoslav policy. Similarly he instructed me to build up a network in various cultural and social organisations, in the press departments of the various Ministries, in the editorial and publishing offices, in the Association of Writers and Journalists, etc. He instructed me to obtain data through this network on the political and economic conditions in Hungary.

The President : Now relate what assignments you got in 1948 from Brankov in the interests of which you had to spread certain propaganda material illegally brought over from Yugoslavia.

Boarov : In 1948, after the appearance of the resolution of the Information Bureau, Brankov sent an employee of the Yugoslav Legation, Lazar Torbica, to Yugoslavia who brought illegal press material from there to Hungary. This material first of all incited people against the resolution of the Information Bureau. Brankov instructed me to distribute this propaganda material by post to the leaders of various social organisations and the Ministries. We had similar propaganda material brought in which we distributed similarly.

The President : You killed Miloš Moich. Tell us what part Brankov had in this murder. From whom did Brankov get instructions for the execution of this murder and finally, in connection with this, who handed you the weapon which you used to carry out the murder, to whom did this weapon belong?

Boarov : In 1948, after the publication of the resolution of the Information Bureau, Blažich told Brankov once in my presence that one of our agents who worked in the Democratic Federation of the South Slavs of Hungary, Miloš Moich, identified himself with the resolution of the Information Bureau and wanted to come out openly in the Hungarian press against Tito and his companions and wanted to expose the Yugoslav diplomats operating in Budapest as Yugoslav spies. In connection with this Brankov said that in the Moich case he had reported to Belgrade and from there had received an answer from Rankovich according to which Tito's instructions were to put Moich across to Yugoslavia, and if we were not able to do this, to liquidate him physically. In connection with this, Brankov transmitted to me instructions to carry out this task. He stated that as a Serb I was closest to Moich and so I had the best chance of succeeding in this.

I did not want to undertake this assignment, I refused it. Then Brankov and Blažich conducted me to Minister Mrazovich, to whom they explained that I did not want to undertake to carry out this assignment. Then Mrazovich repeated the assignment, the instructions for which had come from Belgrade, and when he ordered me to carry it out I did not dare refuse. Then Mrazovich handed me his revolver for carrying out the assignment.

Then I went to Moich's flat on the evening of July 10, and having made sure that he was alone I went up to him and the two of us talked for a long time. I tried to convince him to give up his original intention, I tried to take him along with me to the Legation that he should speak there with Brankov. I thought that from there we could put him across the frontier. At first I could not make myself use the weapon to kill him. But Moich refused everything. He refused to give up his original intention and go with me to the Legation. Then I started to threaten him, saying that he was playing with his head, at which a quarrel developed and a scuffle ensued. In the heat of the scuffle I lost my head and I shot him with Mrazovich's revolver. As a result of this he died. Then I went to the Legation and reported the case to Brankov, as Minister Mrazovich had already left the country.

The President : Does Lazar Brankov have any remarks?

Brankov : Yes, I have.

The President : Go ahead.

Brankov : I would like to supplement Boarov's statement with what I have already said. It was approximately as he said it, but there are divergences between our statements. When the instructions came from Rankovich, from Tito, I opposed the murder of Moich, and we, Blažich and I, turned to Minister Mrazovich to have the Minister decide in this matter. When Mrazovich found out what it was all about — he had already been informed of the whole thing — he said that Tito's and Rankovich's instructions were sacred for us and we must carry them out. If I were opposed or hesitating in this we would get his own revolver for this purpose. He was angry with me because I opposed this. Then he turned to Blažich and told him to organise and carry out Rankovich's instructions. Blažich and I left the room. Then Blažich said that he considered Boarov the most suitable for this purpose and that he would talk it over with him. Apparently Boarov refused this right away, he did not want to do this. Then he came to see me to find out whether these were really Rankovich's and Tito's instructions. I said, yes, such instructions did come and according to these instructions Blažich recommended him to carry this out. Boarov said again that he was not willing to carry this out, that he wanted to turn to the Minister in this case. All three of us went to the Minister again and then the conversation in the Minister's room took place in the manner related by Boarov.

The President : Was it there that Mrazovich handed over his revolver?

Brankov : Then Mrazovich handed him his revolver there.

The President : In the presence of both of you ?

Brankov : Yes.

The President : There is no great divergence between your two stories. (*Turning to Boarov*). Is it true that he opposed physical liquidation or do you maintain your testimony?

Boarov : I maintain it.

The President : In fact, he did not oppose it ; Brankov did not oppose it either.

Boarov : No.

The President : Say it to his face that he did not oppose it either!

Boarov (*Turning to Brankov*) : You did not.

Brankov : I did oppose it.

The President : The confrontation was unsuccessful. Sit down, Brankov. (*Brankov goes to his place.*)

The President : After this is there no further question from the People's Prosecutor? (*None*) I repeat this question to the People's Judges, to the People's Prosecutor and to the Defence. (*No questions*).

Examination of

Iván Földi

The President (*to Földi*) : Relate what you know of the espionage connections maintained with the American and Yugoslav intelligence organisation, actual espionage activities and other destructive work against the Hungarian state order committed by the accused Tibor Szőnyi?

Földi : I know of the espionage and other harmful activities carried on by Tibor Szőnyi and his group at the orders of the American and Yugoslav intelligence services because I was a member of Tibor Szőnyi's espionage group in Switzerland in the years 1943 and 1944. Later, in the years 1945 and 1946 I worked as courier between Szőnyi's espionage group in Hungary and the organisations of the American and Yugoslav intelligence services in Switzerland. From 1947 until as long as May 1949 I carried out harmful activities in Hungary against government interests, on Szőnyi's instructions. At the end of 1942 in Zürich, Switzerland, Tibor Szőnyi organised a group from among politically vacillating Hungarian emigrés, which he headed. I, too, became a member of this group which operated within the framework of the Hungarian National Independence Front. In the spring of 1944, in Geneva, Tibor Szőnyi established personal contact with Noel Field, a member of the American intelligence, who was known as the European manager of the Unitarian Service Committee, an American relief agency. Field, with Szőnyi as intermediary, infected our group with a hostile ideology and thereby greatly prepared it to be ready later to serve the Americans. I was informed about Szőnyi's talk with Field in the summer of 1944 in Zürich from Szőnyi himself. In September 1944, Szőnyi came into contact with Allan Dulles, the European head of the American strategic intelligence service, on the initiative and with the active co-operation of Miša Lompar, the head of the Yugoslav spy ring in Switzerland, in Berne. Dulles was known as an employee of the American Legation in Berne. He brought in Tibor Szőnyi as an agent of the American intelligence service. I was informed of Szőnyi's conference with Dulles from one of the members of our espionage group, György Demeter, who had taken part in this conference. On Dulles's orders, Tibor Szőnyi organised the members of his group — Ferenc Vági, György Demeter, Mrs. György Demeter, András Kálmán, János Dobó, Gyula Kuti, György Hódos, Péter Balabán

and myself by name — in the summer of 1944, or in the late autumn, for espionage and destructive work in the interests of the American intelligence service. In the first three months of 1945 Tibor Szőnyi organised and carried out, on Dulles's orders, the putting across of a part of his espionage group to Hungary, a country in the rear of the Red Army, with the purpose that this espionage group should carry on espionage and wrecking work in Hungary. Szőnyi left the rest of the members of his espionage group, with whose leadership he entrusted me, in Switzerland and left us the instructions, partly to keep up the connections between Szőnyi's espionage group in Hungary and the American and Yugoslav espionage organisations in Switzerland, partly to continue harmful activities in Switzerland against the interests of the Hungarian Government. From the time that Szőnyi arrived in Hungary with his espionage group in March 1945, he carried out in practice the assignments given to him by the American and Yugoslav intelligence — espionage and wrecking.

The President : Now tell us how and with what assignments Tibor Szőnyi's group arrived here in Hungary?

Földi : When Allan Dulles, in the autumn of 1944 entrusted Szőnyi with the organisation and carrying-out of the job of putting his spy ring across the border to Hungary, he at the same time instructed Szőnyi to begin his espionage and harmful activities against the interests of the Hungarian Government, starting with the time after his spy ring had arrived on Hungarian territory, liberated by the Red Army; to sabotage the plans for the people's economy and in general to do a job of wrecking and disorganisation in every field of state and economic life. With this the American intelligence had as its purpose that we should overthrow the people's democratic state order that was already formed and its lawful government, and that we should set in its stead a bourgeois regime and bourgeois government, and thereby make the country a member of the warlike imperialist bloc led by the United States.

Tibor Szőnyi organised the sending of his espionage group to Hungary in two parts. The first detachment was sent to Hungary illegally, between January and March 1945, with the combined assistance of the American and Yugoslav intelligence services. The leader of this group was Tibor Szőnyi, its members were Ferenc Vági, András Kálmán, György Demeter, János Dobó and Gyula Kuti. The second detachment of the spy group, of which I was the leader, returned legally to Hungary in 1946. Considering that in Switzerland I, too, had participated in the preparations for sending Szőnyi's detachment to Hungary, I knew of the American and

Yugoslav intelligence services' co-operation in transporting this spy group back to Hungary. Thus I am aware that Noel Field, an American spy, was the one who organised the Szőnyi groups' illegal crossing of the Swiss-French frontier as well as their further journey to Marseilles, and that he had aided this move with the sum of four thousand Swiss francs.

The President : After their return to Hungary what spying activities did Tibor Szőnyi and his group carry out in the services of the American and Yugoslav intelligence organs?

Földi : According to instructions from Tibor Szőnyi I stayed in Switzerland from January 1945 until February 1947, running a courier service between his detachment and the American and Yugoslav intelligence service organs in Switzerland. During this time, I regularly conveyed to Field and, through his intermediary to Dulles, reports from Tibor Szőnyi and Ferenc Vági, another member of his group. After the Liberation, I came to Hungary for the first time in October 1945 and stayed here for about two months. During this time I spoke about ten times with Szőnyi who in the course of these talks gave me information of a confidential nature with regard to the country's home policy and economy, which I was to forward after my return to Geneva, in Switzerland, to the American spy Noel Field. At the same time, before my departure, Szőnyi also gave me an espionage report in writing for Field, which in the first place contained data on economic questions, mainly the achievements of reconstruction, the level of industrial and agricultural production, certain questions of the inflation and some more problems.

In November 1945, a secret conference was held in Szőnyi's Budapest flat where, besides Szőnyi and myself, another member of our spy group, Ferenc Vági, was also present. At this conference Szőnyi advised Vági to forward the information material concerning the country's political and economic life, through special couriers and Yugoslav spies to my address in Geneva, so that I could hand it over to Field and through him to Dulles. From this time until August 1946, I regularly received espionage reports from Vági which I conveyed to Field and through him to Dulles in Switzerland. In December 1945, I returned from Hungary to Switzerland, and a few weeks later, I visited the American spy Noel Field in his office at No. 39 Quai Wilson in Geneva. I handed over to him the spy reports I brought along. From Switzerland I returned again to Budapest in May, 1946. I handed over to Szőnyi a letter of Field in a sealed envelope which I brought with me. Szőnyi told me that those members of our spy group who were still in Switzerland were to return to Hungary soon, and in connection with this he advised

me to discuss with Field means for the further maintenance of spying connections. I returned to Switzerland in June 1946. In Geneva I called on Field in his office, and gave him Szőnyi's message, asking him to organise the further maintenance of spying connections since I and the other members of our spy group in Switzerland were to return to Hungary. Field promised this. At the same time, in a sealed envelope, I gave him the letter of Tibor Szőnyi as well as a written espionage report also from Tibor Szőnyi, dealing with the home political situation of the country. In September 1946, I again came to Budapest. I called on Szőnyi and informed him of Field's promise to find new possibilities for the further maintenance of the spy connections between himself and Szőnyi, of which he would inform Szőnyi. That time, Szőnyi gave us the advice that all members of our spy group in Switzerland should return to Hungary without any further delay. Besides me there were also other members of our spy group who forwarded espionage reports from Szőnyi to Field. Thus I know that Ferenc Vági and Mrs. György Demeter went to Switzerland in August 1945, where on Szőnyi's orders they remitted spy reports to Field. In March 1946, Ferenc Vági went from Hungary to Switzerland to hand over an espionage report to the American intelligence service there.

The President : Now tell us through which channels the spy reports were sent, in general?

Földi : As I mentioned in my statement, on the occasion of my several trips to Hungary I conveyed a part of the spy reports.

The President : Besides this?

Földi : The bulk of the spy reports, however, was forwarded from Hungary to Switzerland through the intermediary of Yugoslav spies, through Yugoslav spies who were placed in the Yugoslav diplomatic missions and other Yugoslav state organs. The channel through which the spy reports were forwarded from Budapest to Geneva, was as follows: Colonel Cicmil, head of the Yugoslav Military Mission in Budapest — Major Kalafatich, responsible member of the OZNA Yugoslav intelligence service, Belgrade — Latinovich, Yugoslav consul and, at the same time, Yugoslav spy in Marseilles — and finally Mihajlo Lompar, head in Switzerland of the Yugoslav intelligence service and, at the same time, high ranking consular officer in Geneva. From him, I received the espionage reports, forwarding them to the American agent Field and through him to Dulles.

The President : Now tell us what you know of the connections between, and the common intelligence work of, the American and

Yugoslav intelligence organisations and of their common subversive work in general aimed against the Hungarian state order in the period subsequent to the Liberation?

Földi : My knowledge of the close co-operation and connections of the American and Yugoslav intelligence services originates from the conversations I had in Switzerland with Noel Field, a member of the American intelligence service, as well as with the Yugoslav spies Miša Lompar and Grete Confino. My knowledge is further based on the fact that in the years 1945-46, under the common direction of the American and Yugoslav spy organisations, I, too, was performing spy work for them. Even during the war the Yugoslav spy Lompar was the one who established contact between our spy group and the organs of the American intelligence service. In co-operation with the American intelligence service the Yugoslav spies have also had an important, and even decisive, role in putting our spy group into Hungary. In view of my participation in the preparation of this, I had knowledge that in addition to the aid rendered by Noel Field and the American Intelligence Service G2., the Yugoslav spies and the Yugoslav intelligence service were those who had assisted our group.

Miša Lompar was the one who at the beginning of January 1945 gave to Tibor Szőnyi two letters of introduction. One was addressed to Latinovich, Yugoslav Consul in Marseilles, the other one to the Belgrade centre of the OZNA, the Yugoslav intelligence service. Latinovich, the Yugoslav spy was the one who had established connection in Marseilles between our spy group and the American intelligence organ G2. He was also the one who provided accommodation and food for the members of our spy group and who provided Szőnyi with a letter of introduction addressed to the head of the Yugoslav Military Mission in Bari. After their arrival in Belgrade, the OZNA rendered far-reaching assistance to the spy group of Tibor Szőnyi. They were not only provided with food and accommodation, but also a car was made available to them in which, after illegally crossing the Yugoslav-Hungarian border, they proceeded to Szeged which was liberated by the Red Army. This journey was organised by Major Kalafatich, a member of the OZNA.

At the beginning of 1945, the Yugoslav state appointed Miša Lompar Consul in Zürich. Not much later however, in the summer of 1945, he was transferred to the Consulate in Geneva — as I know from him — in order to enable him to maintain close connections with the American agent, Field whose office, as already mentioned, was in Geneva. At the beginning of 1946, in the course of their negotiations with me, Field as well as Lompar had mentioned that they

were maintaining close connections with one another. In a conversation in August 1946, Field even told me that his correspondence with his agents abroad was forwarded by the official couriers of the Yugoslav diplomatic service, just as his connections with the two groups of Szőnyi were also handled through these channels in the main.

Finally, I wish to mention that in April 1946, according to instructions from Tibor Szőnyi, I established contact with the Yugoslav agent Grete Confino in order to interchange information with regard to Yugoslav and Hungarian citizens living in Switzerland. The Yugoslav agent Grete Confino told me, and in the course of my connections with her I found myself, that the Yugoslav intelligence service had maintained a large-scale spying network in Switzerland, and that this network was connected to the American spying network through the intermediary of Miša Lompar.

The President : Now follows the hearing of

Dr. András Kálmán

Dr. András Kálmán, tell us, what do you know of the accused Tibor Szőnyi's spy connections with the American and Yugoslav intelligence service organs, and of his undermining work aimed against the Hungarian state order, and of his spying activities?

Kálmán : The group organised at the end of 1942, and led by Szőnyi, consisted of Hungarian refugees with rather confused political attitudes. This group assumed the name of the Swiss Organisation of the Hungarian National Independence Front. Later, some other Hungarians living in Geneva and Zürich also joined this group, and in the end the group consisted of the following members : Tibor Szőnyi, Ferenc Vági, György Demeter and his wife, János Dobó, Gyula Kuti, György Hódos, Péter Balabán, György Somló and myself. At the beginning of 1944, Tibor Szőnyi entered into contact with Noel Field in Geneva, who was a member of the Office of Strategic Services of the United States and who covered this activity with his function as general manager of the American aid organisation, the Unitarian Service Committee. The European head of this American Office of Strategic Services was, Allan Dulles, who during the war lived in Berne. He covered his intelligence work under the disguise of being an American Legation employee in Switzerland. Field had made financial aid available to refugees of my acquaintance, thus attaching them closely to himself. Field also provided Tibor Szőnyi with regular financial assistance and in this way he succeeded in getting Szőnyi to fulfill the wish expressed by

him, that is, ideologically to prepare the members of his group to serve the American intelligence service, during the war and after the war.

At the same time, at the beginning of 1944, Tibor Szőnyi made intelligence contacts with a Yugoslav called Miša Lompar, who was the Yugoslav intelligence service representative in Switzerland. I knew that Lompar was in close contact with Allan Dulles and was fulfilling intelligence commissions for him. I could also convince myself of this at first hand, when Lompar proposed to Tibor Szőnyi that he would put him also in touch with Dulles. The suggestion was discussed by the leadership of our group — of which I too was a member — by Szőnyi and Ferenc Vági and another member of our group. The leadership of our group entrusted Szőnyi with discussing this with Dulles. Szőnyi prepared a memorandum for Dulles in which he expressed his readiness, as well as that of the group, to render services to the United States after the war on returning to Hungary. In the autumn of 1944 Szőnyi met Dulles in Berne a number of times.

On orders from Dulles, Szőnyi began preparations for the return home. Five members of the group had to travel with him, that is Ferenc Vági, György Demeter, János Dobó, Gyula Kuti and I. The other members of the group had to remain in Switzerland under the leadership of Iván Földi, so that they could make sure of the contact between Szőnyi and Allan Dulles through Field, after Szőnyi had returned home. Important help was rendered by the Yugoslav authorities and the Yugoslav intelligence service in connection with the journey home. This happened on the instructions of Dulles. It meant that Mihajlo Lompar made sure that the six members of the returning group were supplied with forged Yugoslav documents. Lompar instructed the Yugoslav consul in Geneva to supply them. I was the one who received these documents secretly at the flat of the consul. These documents stated that we belonged to the Yugoslav army, that we were travelling to Yugoslavia as a relief mission, and our places of birth were given in the Hungarian area of Yugoslavia. In addition Lompar gave us two letters of introduction, one addressed to the Yugoslav consul in Marseilles, Latinovich, whom he said that we could entirely trust, and the other addressed to the OZNA, the Yugoslav intelligence service in Belgrade. We crossed the Swiss-French frontier illegally at the beginning of 1945. This was made possible by the help of Noel Field who gave our group 4000 Swiss francs before our departure. When we arrived in Marseilles we called on Latinovich who was consul there. After he had read Lompar's letter he gave us a friendly reception and told us that the ship, with which we should

have travelled, had left Marseilles a few days before, so there was no alternative but for us to travel by aeroplane. He told us, however, that we would need the permission of the American espionage organisation called G 2. He immediately wrote an official letter to the G 2 bureau in Marseilles in which he asked that this permission be given. He gave this letter to Szőnyi and in this way put Szőnyi in touch with G 2. G 2. gave permission for this journey at the beginning of March 1945, and provided an American military plane for our group which took us first to Naples, and there, with further permission from G 2, we were given another plane which took us to Belgrade. Latinovich also gave us a letter of introduction addressed to the Yugoslav mission in Bari because he thought that we would be travelling via Bari, but we did not stop in Bari. As we arrived in Belgrade we were taken directly from the aerodrome to the OZNA building. Szőnyi handed over the two letters which he was given by Lompar and Latinovich to the Yugoslav OZNA officer who received us, and who, on the basis of these letters, considered our case in order. The next day Nikolaj Kalafatich, an OZNA major, arrived at our hotel. He told us that our stay in Belgrade and our crossing of the Hungarian frontier would be the responsibility of the OZNA, and the OZNA would take care of this. He then pointed out that we should keep our identity secret in Belgrade, and especially the fact that we were Hungarians. Later he retired with Tibor Szőnyi for a lengthy confidential talk. About this talk Szőnyi told us later that they spoke of the composition of our group and there was some talk about its contacts. Two days later, before we started on our journey to Hungary, Kalafatich visited us again and told us of his willingness to assist in forwarding our reports to be sent to the American intelligence organisation in Switzerland, if we handed over these intelligence reports to the head of the Yugoslav military mission in Hungary, Col. Cicmil. We crossed the Hungarian frontier in an OZNA car, and the OZNA officer who accompanied us made sure that no delays should occur at the frontier. As we arrived in Szeged we destroyed the Yugoslav documents on Szőnyi's instructions and it was then that Szőnyi told us about the precise instructions from Dulles. He said that the members of the group would have to get into the most important posts in the Hungarian economic and state apparatus. We had to carry out damaging, wrecking work, against Hungarian democracy and collect intelligence information. And our group had to maintain its intelligence contacts with the Yugoslav and the American intelligence services. Until the group was arrested, Szőnyi did in fact carry out these tasks, making use of the members of our group.

The President : How did they carry out this intelligence work assigned to them and the wrecking activities in general?

Kálmán : Our group held illegal meetings regularly from 1945 onwards to the beginning of 1947, partly in Szőnyi's, partly at the Demeters' and in my flat. At these meetings Szőnyi gave the members of the group — who had been placed in various important posts by him — their instructions on how to carry out wrecking activities. In addition I also spoke to him more than once in his office when he gave me instructions on how to sabotage the government measures in the Ministry of Public Welfare, where he had placed me in a leading post, how I should create distrust of the heads of the ministry and how I should collect intelligence information. I carried out these instructions from Szőnyi. Shortly after our arrival I also took part in the preparation of two intelligence reports about the Hungarian domestic political situation, which I passed on to Colonel Cicmil. About the final aim of the activities with which he had been entrusted by the Yugoslav and the American intelligence services, Szőnyi told me that this was the overthrow of the Hungarian people's democratic government and the establishment of a UDB system in Hungary which would follow the policy of the United States and the Tito government.

The President : Has Tibor Szőnyi any observations?

Szőnyi : I have none.

The President : Is what he has said correct?

Szőnyi : Yes.

The examination of

Miklós Réti

follows

The President : What position and rank did you have in the Pécs political police in Horthy's time?

Réti : In the capacity of detective inspector, I was the leader of the political department of the Pécs police.

The President : Do you remember through this position of yours how the accused András Szalai who is sitting just behind you . . . (*Réti turns back, Szalai stands up.*)

Réti : Yes, I recognise him.

The President : . . . was organised by the political police and what reports he gave to the political police about the revolutionary workers' movement?

Réti: This was preceded by the investigation of a case in the summer of 1933. This case was a communist conspir... — that is, organisation. This organisation took place in May, 1933, it was exposed by the investigation sub-department of the gendarmerie in Pécs arresting its members, and after a week the police also entered into the investigation under the restriction that we would investigate the smaller details. He was presented to me as a suspect of lesser importance. In the course of this hearing he voluntarily exposed, exactly, in full detail, the whole complex of the organisation, its whole material, all personal details. This members helped us greatly to discover the whole organisation. At that time the court rewarded his attitude by not giving him an actual sentence, but merely binding him over for a year. This was what happened, this was the way I became acquainted with him. The members of the organisation were severely punished by the court. After the sentence, I told Szalai that he should call upon me from time to time in my office and that he should report to me on his behaviour. Then he replied: "You should not worry about me, because I am already fed up with communism, and I have turned to a more sober bourgeois mentality." To prove that this was his standpoint he voluntarily offered to serve as an informer, on his own account. In my capacity as a policeman, I could not refuse this, I accepted it.

The President: What reports did he later make on the basis of this?

Réti: Two months after the sentence, he reported two or three times that some of his acquaintances wanted to renew, to revive the organisation. For this purpose they met on excursions in the Mecsek, they had talks there, they discussed the organisation of illegal cells and also the spreading of leaflets. I saw at once from the names he mentioned that he told the truth, because these people had previously been in connection with the organisation. We immediately started to watch the people but it was not successful, because the suspects got wind of it and completely ended the organisation. At any rate, the result of this denunciation was that since the organisation which took place in 1933, there could not and did not take place any communist organisation in Pécs until the Liberation.

The President: What happened in the Sophiana factory?

Réti: Szalai came to my office in the spring of 1935, he called upon me, and on the basis of our previous contact reported to me that the workers of the Sophiana factory were preparing for a wages strike. At the same time he communicated to me the names of those leading

workers who incited, instigated the others to strike. He repeated this report to me on two other occasions, too. As a result of this, we, the police, called the attention of the management of the factory to this. The management of the factory threatened the workers. The workers shrank back, they did not dare to strike, the strike did not take place, and so they did not succeed in getting the wages they had claimed. These are the two denunciations that he carried out at that time for the police.

The President: Don't you know anything more?

Réti: I don't know about anything more...

After this, the President examined

Lajos Lindenberg

The President: What was your official appointment during the years 1943-44?

Lindenberg: I was the commander of the Sátorajáújhely prison of the chief-of-staff of the army, with the rank of a lieutenant of the reserve.

The President: I am sure you can speak louder, obviously you did not speak so quietly in the prison! What was the consequence for the political prisoners of the fact that András Szalai informed there about some plan of escape? Do you remember that?

Lindenberg: Yes.

The President: Then speak about that.

Lindenberg: András Szalai reported first in January 1944 that the Serbian political prisoners were whispering among themselves, and speaking about some plan of escape. András Szalai repeated this report in a more concrete form in February, 1944, when he already spoke of a break-out and escape, and quoted by name the organisers of the break-out. The break-out took place on March 21, 1944, in such a way that the Serbian political prisoners attacked and disarmed the warders and forced the gates. But only a quarter of the sentenced prisoners who were preparing to escape succeeded in getting out through the forced gates, because the troops of the pioneer formations who had been ordered to be fully prepared by Lieutenant-colonel of the Military Court Dr. József Babos, and who were prepared, arrived unexpectedly at the prison, and, detaining a large number of the prisoners preparing to break out, they pushed them back into their cells. After that they started to catch the 75 prisoners who were already outside the gates and, pursuing them, they massacred 54 prisoners. They caught 21. These 21 they brought

back to the prison, and in the meantime, on March 26, the court martial of the military court arrived and ordered 11 of these 21 to be executed.

After this the Court examined

*Györgyi Vándori,
a language teacher.*

The President : Speak about the tasks you got from Pál Justus, which were directed against the state.

Vándori : I was instructed by Justus directly before the unification of the two workers' parties in 1948, to organise an illegal group with the aim that he should be able to continue the Trotskyist cadres education which he had started previously in the study groups and colleges within the Social Democratic Party. Another task of this illegal group was that every member of the group should organise another new illegal group. Justus made me personally responsible for the secret nature of this group, and I was also responsible for passing his instructions to the illegal group when he could not for some reason be present at these meetings. With Justus we made a list of the participants in the group, and I organised the group which included about 20 people on his behalf. In addition, Justus instructed me that I should spread his views directed against the present regime not only within the illegal group, but I should communicate them also to those former social democrats of whom I knew that they were Trotskyist minded.

At that time Justus, who was a member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Working People's Party, more than once delivered reports about foreign and domestic policy for the illegal group, at the illegal meetings. In these reports he spoke with hatred about the Hungarian people's democracy and he taught his audience that the Hungarian people's democracy does not progress on the way to socialism, and therefore the regime should be hated and, one should fight against the regime. He took up a position opposed to the Government's policy, he slandered the members of the Government and attacked especially the foreign policy of the Government, because of its orientation towards the Soviet Union. At the time of the examination of the membership, Justus instructed the members of this illegal group through me, that they should behave before the supervision committees as though they entirely agreed with the policy of the Government and the Party, in order that we should not be expelled from the Party. On this Justus gave it as his opinion that we should follow a policy

of duplicity in our fight against the regime. This duplicity is also proved in what he has said about his own articles praising the regime, that these articles were only tools for him, the tools of duplicity in the course of our illegal fight against the regime.

This illegal group which was established by Justus worked from the spring of 1948, until May, 1949. It became more and more obvious from the autumn of 1948 that Justus was preparing to fight actively against the regime. His opinion was that we should look for assistance and allies for our fight against the regime, in the ranks of the western countries and Tito's Yugoslavia. He went on educating the illegal group in this spirit.

I communicated these opinions of Justus to the illegal group on his behalf, and to all those whom I knew agreed with his views.

The President : Yes. Come here, nearer. Do you recognise in these papers your diary written in your own hand? Yes?

Vándori (steps to the judge's stand and looks at the writing shown to her) : Yes, I recognise them.

The President : In these diaries there is written — do you remember — on October 3, 1948, I quote only one of these interesting sentences: "It is not worth while taking part in the dictatorship, resistance at home should be strengthened". Then, on October 10, 1948, it is noted: "It would be treason not to fight against this regime". And at another place: "I would like to fight against the dictatorship, I have to find contact with the free Europeans". Do you remember this?

Vándori : Yes.

The President : Then explain to the Special Court how they should interpret these phrases?

Vándori : Since the autumn of 1948, Justus instructed me, and through me the previously mentioned illegal group, that we should take a stronger line to prepare for an active fight against the Hungarian People's Democracy. As long as there is no active fight — said Justus — only the means of internal resistance are left to us. But when a domestic or foreign political crisis breaks out in Hungary, then the hour of open activity will strike for us. Under the term, foreign political crisis, Justus understood that the unavoidable war between the Soviet Union and America would break out, and it was further his opinion that America would come out of the war as the victor and then an era favourable to us would set in. We should look for allies in our fight against the Hungarian People's Democracy among the western powers and the Titoites; when Justus spoke about the "free Europeans" he understood these western powers

and Tito Yugoslavia. In this diary I wrote down Justus' remarks and opinions, and these notes faithfully reflect the hatred of the Hungarian People's Republic which Justus fostered in me.

The President : Has Pál Justus any observations?

Justus : In essence the statement of the witness reflects the truth.

The President commences with the examination of

Mrs. László Fleischer

The President : Tell us how long you were Pál Justus' secretary!

Mrs. Fleischer : From February, 1945, to July, 1948.

Justus : Did you during this time meet a person apparently called Vadas?

Mrs. Fleischer : Yes.

The President : And what assignment did you get from him concerning Pál Justus?

Mrs. Fleischer : When Justus was in Antwerp in December, 1947, a man calling himself Vadas arrived at the office and said that he wanted to speak to him personally. When I told him that Justus would only return to Budapest in a few days, he wrote a few lines on a sheet of paper and asked me for an envelope. He put this paper into the envelope, closed it and addressed it to Justus and gave it to me with the remark that I was to pass it on to Justus immediately on his return. I did this and told Justus that it was left by a comrade called Vadas. Justus put the envelope into his pocket, without saying a word. That is all I know of Vadas.

The President : Do you know something about Gachot, an official of the French legation in Budapest, and his connection with Pál Justus?

Mrs. Fleischer : Yes. All the time I acted as secretary to Justus he was in touch with Gachot. Gachot often visited him in his office, and on these occasions they had long talks. Mostly in private but now and again it happened that I too was present at the discussion, but because they spoke in French, I could not understand anything. I saw then that Gachot was making notes of the discussion. Sometimes after Gachot's departure, Justus told me that I should not tell anyone about these discussions, because they must remain strictly secret. I also know that they sometimes spoke on the telephone and met outside the office. I know of at least one or two meetings.

The President : Do you know anything else?

Mrs. Fleischer : Nothing else.

In answer to the President's question Justus stated : The statement reflects the truth.

THE PROSECUTOR'S SPEECH

The Special Council of the People's Court, with Dr. Péter Jankó presiding, continued the trial in the criminal case of László Rajk and his accomplices. The trial was opened a little after 9.15 a.m. by the President of the Council, Dr. Jankó, who asked : Is there any motion to supplement the evidence ?

Neither the People's Prosecutor nor the Counsels for Defence had any motion for supplementing the evidence.

The President : I therefore declare the presentation of the evidence completed. I ask the People's Prosecutor to deliver his speech. *(Tension in the audience.)*

The People's Prosecutor,

Dr. Gyula Alapi

rises to deliver his speech :

— It was only just and fair that the trial in the criminal case of László Rajk and his associates caused a tremendous stir among our working people, among our friends and our enemies abroad as well.

— This trial has an extraordinary significance. I can state without exaggeration that the significance of this trial is international, for we have to pass judgement not only on the accused who raised their hands against the state order of our People's Republic, the great achievements of our democracy, but at the same time on those too, who in their plotting activities were instruments and puppets pulled on the strings of the foreign imperialist enemies of the Hungarian working people who are building socialism. Not only Rajk and his associates are here in the dock, but their foreign masters, their imperialist instigators of Belgrade and Washington as well.

— What is the main feature of this trial? Not the fact, honoured members of the People's Court, that the sworn enemies of the Hungarian People's Democracy are sitting in the dock. For after all, Ferenc Nagy and his group of conspirators on whom the Hungarian People's Court at that time passed judgement, were also sworn enemies of the Hungarian People's Democracy. József Mindszenty was also, a sworn enemy of the Hungarian People's

Democracy, who also got his well-deserved punishment. László Rajk and his accomplices differed from the enemies of the People's Republic, against whom the avenging hand of our democratic justice has so far struck its blow, among other things, in the fact that these worked out a system of subterfuge and disguise, so that they struck not as open enemies, but hiding in the dark and penetrating into the leading Party of our People's Democracy and into the state machinery of our Republic. We are confronted with crawling sneaking snakes, with a more dangerous enemy, more to be hated than any before. The enemies of our People's Democracy who have been exposed and made harmless up to now, also played into the hands of foreign imperialists and attempted to overthrow our state order. László Rajk and his accomplices were also the serfs and servants of foreign imperialists, but their special features the peculiarity of their case lies in the fact that here, the Yugoslav leading clique — Tito and his band, who have put the heroic people of Yugoslavia under their yoke and usurped power in Yugoslavia — take the role of the intermediaries, chief agents and storm troops of the foreign imperialists.

— When we look back upon the revelations of the trial, it is necessary to consider the peculiarities of this case.

— Honoured People's Court! On the basis of the data of the trial, we can establish that every statement of the indictment, every fact of the preliminary investigation was fully proved. The testimonies of the accused and of the witnesses, the results of the confrontations, have proved the charge without a doubt and strengthened the indictment. Anyone, in whom there is the slightest trace of objectivity and fairness, must admit that at the trial full light has been thrown upon the truth by the testimonies of the accused and of the numerous witnesses, the thorough comparison of these, as well as from the circumstantial evidence produced at the trial.

— In this connection I must emphasise not only the fact that the accused could defend themselves, and did defend themselves quite freely, but also that each individual accused and witness illuminated different sides and different details of the same event, independently from each other, and that the confrontations ordered by the Court cleared up even those slight divergences which in certain small details came up here and there in the testimonies of the accused. Because of this we got a clear picture of the base work of this contemptible criminal gang, it is to a great extent this, that has made it possible for the true state of affairs to unfold according to the truth, in their entirety at the trial.

— Let me call the attention of the People's Court to the fact that, for instance as many as five people testified on the notorious

meeting of Rankovich and Rajk in October, 1948, thus in addition to Dr. Antal Klein, Dr. Györgyi Tarisznyás and Rajk, also Pálffy and Brankov, but they cast light on different details, details of which each of them could only himself have known, and yet it must be established that in spite of this, there was no contradiction between them, neither in time nor in fact, and it is just these details, illuminated from their different sides, and their coincidence, that prove that we are here dealing with the pure truth.

— Let me call attention in connection with this, also to the fact that the content of the secret conference between Rajk and Rankovich at Kelebia, in December, 1947, was essentially the same as that of Pálffy's conference with Nedelkovich at the Partisan Congress in Rome. This coincidence shows that this was a widespread conspiracy, a vile plan, which they set out to carry out from many sides, a plan for which the accused worked for years, following the instructions of their foreign employers, carefully co-ordinating their activities.

— I must also state, that for instance, Rajk and Brankov described Tito's so-called strategic plan for the internal undermining of the peoples' democracies, turning them against the Soviet Union, and the role of the treacherous Yugoslav leaders in this plan, essentially in full agreement. The differences in shade regarding the details of this, in Rajk's and Brankov's testimony prove just that both Brankov and Rajk were informed of these plans independently and described them on the basis of their own experiences. In substance there is agreement. It is apparent from the testimonies of both, that the aims of the Tito clique were the same before the well-known resolution of the Information Bureau as afterwards. Only the means and methods changed, following the resolution of the Information Bureau which exposed Tito and his clique.

— In this connection I wish to call attention also to the fact that Pálffy, through his own channels, the Yugoslav Colonels Lozich and Žokalj, received the same instructions which Rajk received directly or indirectly from Rankovich. And even if in Pálffy's and Rajk's testimonies there were unimportant divergences in detail — for instance regarding the time of the planned putsch or whether Rajk hastened or delayed the armed putsch, — these very divergences show the truth and genuineness of the plan for the conspiracy. They show that Rajk and Pálffy said here at the trial what they found out independently through their own separate Yugoslav connections.

— At the trial, honoured People's Court, not only the charges included in the indictment were fully proven but also new important

facts came to light, which had been brought up neither in the indictment nor in the course of the investigation. Thus, for instance, it was a novelty in Brankov's testimony that Tito and his clique, hand in hand with the imperialist intelligence services, carried on their work of dissolution not only in every people's democratic country, but also in those capitalist countries which have strong labour movements, communist parties with a strong influence on the broad masses. The disclosure that Tito and his clique intended a role for Antal Bán in the new government to be formed after the execution of the armed putsch and the murder of the leading statesmen of the Hungarian democracy, — was also new. We had not known this before; Brankov, confessed this only at the trial, at the same time exposing the true connections between Antal Bán and the present Yugoslav ruling circles. It turned out that Tito and his cliques wanted to include Antal Bán too, in the new Hungarian government because he had been Yugoslav police spy of long standing, whom they thus had in their power in the same way as they had the others, Rajk and Anton Rob.

— Through Rajk's connections the whole policy of Tito and his clique since the end of the war and even in the times preceding the end of the war, may be seen in a new light. Rajk related at the trial on the basis of his conference with Rankovich in Kelebia, that the Yugoslav leaders followed an anti-Soviet policy even immediately after the end of the war, and even during the war, that at the beginning, however, they intended for Yugoslavia only a reserve role in this anti-Soviet warfare, and that they changed to open anti-Soviet policy only when the socialist forces in the peoples' democracies struck blow upon blow at the forces of reaction, and it became impossible to count upon the coming into power of reaction in these countries. All this was new and the prosecution would not have been able to show this as clearly on the basis of the investigation.

— That this new momentum which came up at a private conference is true, is shown by events themselves. Tito's whole policy and Rankovich's true confessions, made to Rajk in Kelebia, on the real policy of the ruling Yugoslav clique, give the key for understanding the mysteries of Tito's policy; just as Rajk's testimony on the Paks meeting and on what Rankovich said at Paks about the isolation and drowning of democratic Greece, fully coincides with the events that have since taken place within the united front of the Titoites and the Greek monarcho-fascists against the Greek fighters for freedom.

— Rajk's statement on certain details of the meeting at Paks

explains the joint preparations by the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Titoite Yugoslav fascists against the independence of the small Albanian People's Republic, for Albania's division and — as Rankovich said in Paks — her annexation.

— I repeat, Honoured People's Court, that the testimonies heard at the trial have fully proven the charges in their entirety. What was proven? First of all it was proved of László Rajk that since 1931 he has been a police informer and provocateur who, in his own words, continuously informed Horthy's police and carried out Hetényi's, Schweinitzer's and Péter Hain's instructions. It was proved to be true that during the Horthy regime, for more than a decade he supplied victims to the police, and betrayed the revolutionary workers' movements that were struggling underground.

He was an *agent provocateur* in the ranks of the communist students, laid police traps for his friends, was an *agent provocateur* among the building workers. It was proved to be true that he was an *agent provocateur* in Spain, and that he served his masters also in the French internment camps. It was proved to be true that he served not only the Hungarian police but — in his own words — he undertook "of course" also to work for the French spy organisation, the Deuxième Bureau. It was proved to be true that through the intervention of Péter Hain he came into contact with the Gestapo and then, after the fall of German fascism, he became an agent to the successors of the Gestapo, the American espionage organisation with whom he had already in the French internment camp established contact through Noel H. Field, one of the heads in Switzerland of the OSS, the American spy organisation, the Office of Strategic Services. It proved to be true that even in 1945, Rajk returned with his mind made up to perform services for the American intelligence service. With this message he sent his fellow *agent provocateur* Stolte, to Sombor-Schweinitzer whom he knew was staying in the American Zone in Germany and was in the service of the American espionage organisation.

After the Liberation, within the ranks of the Communist Party he systematically served the American spy ring. Lieutenant-Colonel Kovach and Martin Himmler forwarded to him the directives of the American imperialists to disrupt the Communist Party, and secretly to support right-wing forces. In 1946 — as he has himself stated — Rajk was transferred to the Yugoslav organisation, becoming a Yugoslav agent without ceasing to be an agent of the Americans.

In the summer of 1947, in Abbazia, in December 1947 in Kelebia, in October 1948 in Paks, he discussed plans with Rankovich, the Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs, to undermine and overthrow

Hungarian democracy and received as a common agent the directives for the conspiracy, the murders, the armed putsch.

It was proved to be true that Rajk in his capacity as a high official of his Party, as a Minister of Home Affairs and of Foreign Affairs, was a common spy, an instrument of foreign powers, a conspirator, a bandit preparing for treachery.

Of György Pálffy it was proved in the course of the trial that he was a convinced fascist, who had in a double-dealing manner crept into the Communist Party with the preconceived intention to deceive the leaders of the Party and the state, and to transform the army of the democracy into an instrument suitable to overthrow democracy. It was proved that he was striving systematically and in a planned way to saturate the army with fascist officers. It was proved of him that since 1945 he has been, a Yugoslav agent, that it was precisely in consequence of his feelings against the people that the Yugoslav Military Attachés, Lozich and Žokalj, brought him into the Yugoslav spy organisation. It was proved that already in 1947, at the Partisan Congress in Rome, Pálffy discussed with the Yugoslav colonel Nedelkovich the policy and the whole tactics of the conspiracy aimed at the overthrow of the Hungarian people's democracy. Pálffy was the most important accomplice of László Rajk, head of the conspiracy against the people. His was the job of the military preparation and carrying out of the planned putsch. Pálffy elaborated the scheme of killing Mátyás Rákosi, Ernő Gerő and Mihály Farkas, and of setting up three assassin detachments consisting of 12 men each. He was the originator of the mobilisation plan of the putsch, he gave orders to Korondy to carry out the murders and the military putsch. It was proved that Pálffy gave away most important military secrets to the espionage organisation of a foreign country, regularly informing the Yugoslav agents with regard to the organisation and location of the Hungarian army, the frontier guard, and the Hungarian war industry.

Of Brankov it was proved in the trial that in his capacity as head of the Yugoslav Military Mission, as a member of the Yugoslav Legation, he was one of the chief organisers of the organisation aiming to undermine and overthrow the Hungarian democracy, he most actively contributed to building up the Yugoslav spy ring in Hungary. Brankov was the chief agent of Rankovich, he was the one who controlled Rajk's conspiratorial operations, he forwarded the orders of the Tito gang to their agents in Hungary. It was proved that Brankov's change of sides from the Tito camp to the camp of the followers of democracy and socialism, took place on the orders of Tito and Rankovich with the base intention of enabling

him to take a more active, more successful part in the organisation aiming at the overthrow of the Hungarian People's Republic. It was proved that Brankov had a hand in the murder arranged upon instructions from Rankovich by the Yugoslav Legation in Budapest, the purpose of which was to put out of the way Miloš Moich as they feared that Moich would expose their spy operations and disruptive machinations pursued in Hungary.

Of Tibor Szőnyi it was proved that during the war he became an American spy, that in Switzerland he received instructions from Noel H. Field and Allan Dulles, that under their direction he organised a spy group from among Hungarian refugees, that he returned home to Hungary with the aid of the Yugoslav agents of the American spy organisations, and that with his entire activity in Hungary he served the American and Yugoslav spy organisations. It was proved that he placed American and Yugoslav spies into important administrative posts of the Hungarian Republic with the aim of making them disrupt, sabotage and spy. It was proved that Tibor Szőnyi was one of László Rajk's most important helpmates in the organisation aimed at the overthrow of the Hungarian People's Republic.

The trial proved the truth of the charges raised against András Szalai. It was revealed that since 1935 Szalai was acting as *agent provocateur*, once in Yugoslavia, and another time in Hungary. It was proved that he is responsible for the betrayal of the political prisoners at the Sátorlajaujhely prison, for the killing, the unlawful execution of 64 persons. It was proved that it was due to the knowledge of András Szalai's deeds as *agent provocateur* that the Yugoslav Major Smiljanich brought him into the Yugoslav spy organisation in Hungary.

It was proved that András Szalai regularly gave away important state secrets to the Yugoslav spy organisation.

The trial has also proved the regular spying activities of Milan Ognjenovich, just as it proved the charges against Béla Korondy as contained in the indictment. It was proved that Korondy, the fascist captain of gendarmes, came into the police by favour of Rajk and Pálffy. There he pursued the aim of creating an anti-democratic armed force out of the democracy's armed police force. It was proved that upon directives from Rajk and Pálffy, he prepared the armed putsch, organised a special armed officers' detachment and prepared the assassination of Mátyás Rákosi, Mihály Farkas and Ernő Gerő.

Of Pál Justus the trial has proved that he was a police informer since 1932, that in Hungary, and in France as well, he served the

Horthyites. But it was also proved that Justus, the informer of the Horthyites, became an agent of the Tito clique and the French spy organisation, that he collected and regularly turned over to the Yugoslav Legation in Budapest, then directly to Rankovich and to Gachot, press attaché of the French Legation in Budapest, espionage material concerning Hungarian political and economic life, state secrets, and confidential data gathered at the Central Committee meetings, of first the Social Democratic Party, and then of the Hungarian Working People's Party. It is proved that Justus, in his quality as an informer and intelligence agent, also performed ideological, disruptive work, regularly carried on anti-democratic, so-called educational work, that he co-ordinated the entire activity of his surroundings with the conspiracy aimed at the overthrow of the People's Republic, at the head of which stood László Rajk, commissioned by the Tito gang.

Honoured People's Court. In order to pass sentence on them, it is not sufficient to know the crimes of the accused. We must also know the political background, the aims and contents of this conspiracy. We must recognise the entire political context of this conspiracy, to be able to estimate the whole significance of the crimes of the accused.

Honoured People's Court! I am raising the question, what was intended here, what were the political aims of this gang of conspirators? The Prosecutor need not take much trouble in investigating this, since in the course of the trial full light was thrown upon the aims pursued by them. In short, they wanted to restore capitalism in Hungary. They wanted to restore the rule of the big estate owners and capitalists. The frankness with which László Rajk and György Pálffy admitted this, was unmistakable. The trial revealed that by commission of his American and Yugoslav masters, Rajk was first striving to help to prevent the victory of democratic and socialist forces over the Hungarian reactionary forces.

Later, when the democratic forces led by the Hungarian working class gained the upper hand, and started to progress towards socialism, the conspirators endeavoured violently to overthrow the Hungarian People's Republic and to restore the old regime. The coalition government which would have been established after the triumph of the armed putsch under Rajk's leadership and would have included Ferenc Nagy's followers, the representatives of the right-wing social democrats, together with Rajk, Pálffy and Anton Rob, would have been the government of capitalist restoration and of the annihilation of the achievements of the people's democracy. It was no accident that Rankovich pointed out emphatically to

Rajk and his associates, that they were to unite the right-wing forces and to make use of the nationalist and chauvinist elements, the clerical and kulak reaction. Is it necessary to prove that a government which would have included every shade of Hungarian reaction from right-wing social democrats to the followers of Ferenc Nagy and Mindszenty, would have been a government of the liquidation of the Hungarian People's Democracy, the annihilation of nationalisation, the liquidation of the land reform? It is also obvious that this new government headed by Rajk and his company would not just have been a government of the restoration of the greatest estates and big capital, but also a government on the fascist pattern. A government which would have made all efforts to liquidate the historical achievements of our democracy, a government of blood-thirsty terror, and of the massacre of tens of thousands. For the military putsch would not have been carried out exclusively by Pálffy's and Korondy's Horthyist officers' detachments, but also as Rankovich told Rajk in Paks, by former arrow-cross and gendarme detachments organised in the American and British zones.

The fascist Pálffy said of this: "It was quite clear to me that such a course, once taken, does not stop half-way. I knew that there are no lukewarm middleways," — Pálffy said, and then he continued: "Either, or. An enterprise with such a bourgeois-democratic aim in Hungarian policy would lead us back to Horthy fascism, whether we wanted it or not. And it was also quite clear to me that such a return would also have meant the brutal police suppression of the workers, characteristic of fascism".

Such was Pálffy's statement at the trial. As for Rajk, he declared with undisguised cynicism that being a politician, he was fully aware of these consequences, he knew what would have happened in Hungary if the Yugoslav and Hungarian fascists of Pálffy, Korondy and Rankovich would have started their activities. Of this Rajk stated: "At any rate all those democratic forces, who pushed them, that is the arrow-cross fascists, out of the country, who gradually liquidated capitalism, who distributed the land, who nationalised the factories and banks, etc., would have been most brutally massacred. Obviously, I realised this — Rajk said — for I am a politician and I know the ABC of politics". Well, according to Rajk, to make serfs of the working masses, to massacre thousands and tens of thousands of their best representatives, is a political ABC; this is how Rajk learned the ABC of fascism from his master and boss Tito, who carries out this ABC at the cost of the Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian people, and the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

It is also obvious, honoured People's Court, that the conspiracy of Rajk and his company was aimed to sell Hungarian independence and to liquidate national sovereignty. This gang was formed to put Hungary under a foreign yoke, to make our fatherland a foreign colony, to form its government from foreign spies and agents and to create in the place of an autonomous and independent Hungary, a system which would have carried out the orders of agents, dancing to the tune played abroad, and which would betray Hungarian national interests.

Rankovich did not, at his meetings with Rajk at Kelebia and Paks, make a secret of what he actually understood under the leading role of Yugoslavia, for Tito, Rankovich and their associates wanted also to use Yugoslav military units, in the course of the execution of the putsch on Hungarian territory, because they did not trust even those Hungarian troops, which were to have been organised by Pálffy and Korondy and, as Rajk explained, they wanted to "stiffen and supervise" the Hungarian units with Yugoslav units.

Tito's high command in the Hungarian Army, Yugoslav officers over the Hungarian officers, Yugoslav supremacy over the Hungarian state, this is the meaning of László Rajk's term, to "stiffen and supervise".

At the Paks meeting, Rankovich told Rajk of the so-called Yugoslav demands after the seizure of power. Rajk said the following of these claims: "First they wanted to ensure their full right to command the armed forces, that is, the army and the police. To carry this out Rankovich even told me: Tito's most decided wish was that Pálffy should become the Minister of Defence, for he was a reliable person from his point of view, and that the Yugoslav agent Anton Rob should become the Minister of Home Affairs. Keeping in view, of course, the final aim of shaping a bloc of states, Tito demanded such a foreign policy, and its guarantees from Hungary, as would always be in harmony with the foreign policy of Yugoslavia, that is, that her foreign relations too should be subordinated to the Yugoslav Government. Finally, as Yugoslavia was a less developed country industrially, he claimed that the whole of Hungarian industry should in the first place be subordinated to the fulfillment of the Yugoslav Five Year Plan and economic policy, even if this overrode Hungarian interests." I am not surprised if every conscious Hungarian worker in whom a spark of patriotism lives, clenches his fist at hearing these treacherous plans humiliating and dishonouring our whole nation.

Not only the treacherous work, the vile activities of Rajk and his gang, of bargaining with our national independence, become clear to us when we become acquainted with these Tito conditions and claims, but also the unmeasurable chauvinist haughtiness and maniac superiority complex of Tito and his gang, how they despise the Hungarian people. The fact itself that they could seriously think, and they could seriously count upon the fulfillment of the plan, that the Hungarian people would tolerate such a subjugation, shows that they ignored the Hungarian people's devotion to their independence, that they ridicule the national honour of our people. Things could never have come to a stage when the Titoites should "stiffen and supervise" the independent Hungarian state, that they form a government for the Hungarian state from among their own agents.

But it is characteristic of Tito and Rankovich, and also characteristic of Rajk and Pálffy, that they seriously counted upon such an opportunity.

But it is in the light of these infamous plans, these infamous conditions, these conditions injuring our honour, that we can best see the endeavour of the western imperialist radios and press, to make Rajk and his accomplices the representatives of some "national line". The representative of the national line as far as the ruling circles of London and Washington, and the spokesmen of the British and American imperialists are concerned, is a man who was for 18 years a professional informer and a traitor, who sold his fatherland retail and wholesale, to foreign imperialists and chiefs of espionage from Noel H. Field and Allan Dulles through the Deuxieme Bureau and the Gestapo to the intelligence organisations of Tito and Rankovich.

Honoured People's Court, a logical consequence of the fact that Rajk and his accomplices conspired to betray Hungary's independence is, that they wanted to tear our country out of the powerful democratic peace camp, and to turn her against the Soviet Union.

It is two sides of the same medal. Rajk and his company were anti-Soviet, for they considered the Soviet Union as the most important supporter and defender of our peace and of Hungary's independence — and they were quite right. And, conversely, they were anti-Soviet minded, because they were enemies of peace and of the independence of the Hungarian people. The whole political development of the Hungarian people's democracy proves that all those who are enemies of the Soviet Union, are at the same time enemies of the power of the Hungarian workers and the independence and peace of the country, too.

Honoured People's Court, it is obvious that the conspirators having the aim of restoring capitalism, the introduction of a bloodthirsty dictatorship on the fascist pattern, the betrayal of the independence of the country, and colonisation on behalf of the imperialists, concentrated their attention and effort to weaken and dissolve that political force, that great Party, which was the architect of the victories of the working people in Hungary, whose political determination and fighting spirit foiled all the attempts of reaction at home and abroad.

It is no accident that Rajk, Szőnyi and their company were ordered by their imperialist bosses from Dulles to Rankovich and Tito to make the Party of the Hungarian Communists, the Hungarian Working People's Party, unfit for the fight. For the enemy has also learned that the Party is the guardian and the defender of the people, democracy and the people's republic, and learned, too, that in order to stab the people's democracy, it is necessary to liquidate those leaders who are at the head of the Party, the best defenders of the cause of the Hungarian working class, of our working people, and at the same time the firm pillars of our people's democratic government.

So it is no accident that an organic and definite part of the plan directed at the overthrow of our people's democracy was the annihilation of the most important leaders of the Hungarian Working People's Party, "to render them harmless", and first of all, the murder of Mátyás Rákosi, Ernő Gerő and Mihály Farkas. It is easy to understand that the millions of masses of our working people were especially outraged by this vile plan of the conspirators, feeling instinctively that the man who wants to lift his blood-stained hand against the leader of our Party and people, Mátyás Rákosi, is, at the same time, also an assassin of the power, the development and the prosperity of the people.

Honoured People's Court. In connection with this trial the speakers of the western imperialist circles cast doubt on the objectiveness of the administration of justice in the Hungarian democracy, pretending that this trial is, in essence, not the trial of László Rajk and his company, but that it is actually Tito and his associates who are in the dock. I do not deny that there is a great deal of truth in this. For by rights, not only those who personally committed the crime should be placed in the dock, but their instigators, too. It is true and right that the Hungarian People's Court, passing sentence on László Rajk and his gang of conspirators, should also pass sentence, in a political and moral sense, on the traitors of Yugoslavia, the criminal gang of Tito, Rankovich, Kardelj and Djilas. The international significance

of this trial lies particularly in the fact that we are passing sentence also on the Yugoslav deserters and traitors to democracy and socialism. We are exposing their duplicity, their perfidy, their intrigues, against democracy and socialism, their plans and acts of assassination. This trial has exposed the Titoites, the great majority of the present members of the Yugoslav government in their role of allies of the American imperialists and of common agents of the imperialist intelligence organisations.

The trial gave ample proof of the fact that the contact of the Tito clique with the imperialists did come into existence after the well-known resolution of the Information Bureau but is of earlier origin.

What proof is there of this? Rajk said in his statement that dozens of Yugoslavs were operating in the French internment camps who established similar contacts with the French intelligence bureau and who were similarly helped back to Yugoslavia by the Gestapo. Let me add to Rajk's statement that on the basis of Hungarian experiences it is probably true that the majority of these people were in those days sent to Spain as agents by the fascist police of the Yugoslav Prince-Regent Paul, in the same way that the Horthy police sent Rajk.

It appears from statements made by Rajk and Brankov that these people are holding leading governmental posts in the Yugoslavia of to-day. In addition to Brankov, Tibor Szőnyi also admitted here the existence of a contact between Tito's trusted men and the heads of the American intelligence organisation during the Second World War. Szőnyi's Trotskyist group in Switzerland returned to Hungary in 1945 as a result of the close co-operation between the American and Yugoslav intelligence organisations. Miša Lompar, during the war in Switzerland, Latinovich in Marseilles, Velebit in London and Jovanovich in Bari were simultaneously the agents of the Tito clique and of the Anglo-American intelligence organisations. These people are to-day still leading men in Yugoslavia, Tito's closest, trusted men which goes to show that their previous and current activities, their contact with the American intelligence organisations, took place and is taking place with Tito's knowledge, authorisation and approval.

It also became clear through the examination that Colonel Cicmil, the head of the Yugoslav Military Mission in Budapest, in 1945, on Tito's direct orders, established close contact with General Edgecumbe the head of the British Military Mission, and together they worked against the Soviet section of the Allied Control Council and against Marshal Voroshilov. So Tito's anti-Soviet

attitude is of long standing. His co-operation with the Anglo-American imperialists against the Soviet Union did not originate after the resolution of the Information Bureau. Brankov admitted that Javorsky and Kovács, both colonels of the Yugoslav Military Mission, had special instructions as far back as 1945 to spy on the Soviet Army in Hungary.

On Rajk's instructions, Dr. Endre Szebenyi, who was then Under-Secretary of State for Home Affairs, passed on all material on the Ferenc Nagy conspiracy to Cicmil, who forwarded it to the British and American representatives in Budapest. Brankov told of how Kardelj, the Yugoslav deputy Prime Minister, pressed Cicmil in 1946 for a report on the Hungarian domestic situation, giving as his reason that this material had to be handed over urgently to the British and American legations.

The close and long-standing contacts of the Tito clique with the American intelligence organisations are proved by the fact that Martin Himmler formally transferred Rajk and put him under the authority of Rankovich. They are proved, too, by the fact that Rankovich could only have received the photostat of Rajk's undertaking to become an informer in 1931 as a favour from the American intelligence service. This was obviously handed over by Schweinitzer to the Americans together with the Hungarian police archives, and with whose help he in fact signed on the Hungarian Minister of Home Affairs of that time as a Yugoslav agent in Abbazia in the summer of 1947.

All these facts, and Brankov's admissions about the back-room secrets of the partisan fights, throw new light on the whole past of Tito, Kardelj, Rankovich and Djilas, and their part in the Yugoslav partisan fight. The Tito gang, through the American and British intelligence officers assigned to the partisan headquarters, took their lead from American and British imperialism even during the war and worked with them against the Soviet Union at the time when the Soviet Army was shedding blood for the liberation of Yugoslavia. The fight against Žujovich and Hebrang was the Tito clique's fight against those true Yugoslav patriots who, even at the time of the partisan war, opposed co-operation with the British and American imperialists and their intelligence organisations. One of the dramatic and amazing parts of Brankov's statement says that the Titoites purposely sent thousands of sincere Yugoslav communists to certain death in the partisan struggles, with the deliberate aim of ensuring their power in the country and in the party after the end of the war.

In the light of the co-operation between the Yugoslav ruling

clique and the imperialist intelligence services the Titoites' activities in Hungary are more easily understood. We can understand more easily the methods used by the Yugoslav Legation to undermine the Hungarian people's democracy. As they stood in the service of foreign intelligence organs and learnt from them the gangster-like unscrupulous methods of the western intelligence services, trampling under their feet all moral and human decency, they themselves used these same methods.

Using gangster-like methods, they built up their Budapest Legation as a centre of espionage and conspiracy.

It is typical of Rankovich how he blackmailed László Rajk in Abbazia, how he was not satisfied with the political co-operation offered by Rajk, but, taking out from his pocket Rajk's statement of 1931 agreeing to do the work of an informer, recruits him as a Yugoslav informer with all the usual formalities and treats him as such in the future. It is typical of these Tito gangster methods that they recruited as their Hungarian agents only former Horthy informers and Horthy *provocateurs*. This is not only true of Rajk but also of Anton Rob, András Szalai, and Antal Bán, true also of Yugoslav agents performing the services of common stool-pigeons and those with great political tasks.

It is not surprising that Rankovich, graduated from the school of the American espionage organisation and the Intelligence Service, and praising Gestapo methods, sent bandits, spies and murderers to Hungary under the guise of Yugoslav diplomats, that he had Miloš Moich killed because of his fear of being exposed, that he sent professional murderers in the persons of Joanovich and Jójkich to Budapest, that the consular department of the Yugoslav Legation busied itself with faking passports, kidnapping and escapes. After that it is not surprising that the headquarters of the organisation of an armed putsch against the Hungarian People's Republic was the Yugoslav Legation in Budapest, that the Tito clique was ready to help the conspirators planning to overthrow the Hungarian people's democracy with provocations, frontier incidents, armed assistance and by allowing Hungarian fascists to pass through Yugoslav territory from the American and British occupation zones. These gangster methods are natural companions of the political programme of the Yugoslav traitors. This trial threw plenty of light on this political programme. The essence of this political programme is service of western imperialism in the fight against democracy and socialism, first of all in south eastern Europe. Rajk and Brankov have told of the programme of the Tito clique for Yugoslav hegemony, for the Balkan federation to be organised under the leadership of Yugoslavia; Yugo-

slav leadership in this federation of states would have meant turning these countries step by step against the Soviet Union and making them serve the imperialists. On the basis of his discussions with Rankovich in Abbazia, Kelebia and Paks, Rajk drew an exhaustive and exact picture of the Tito policy and tactics which were directed towards the aim of establishing an anti-Soviet, Balkan bloc in the service of the imperialists.

There were two stages in the policy of the Tito clique. During the first stage, when the fight between bourgeois reaction and people's democracy in the East European countries was as yet undecided and one could still count on reaction getting the upper hand in the struggle of the forces in the peoples' democracies, the Tito clique remained in reserve, did not yet show their teeth and did not yet come forward openly as the anti-Soviet storm troops of American imperialism. They appeared as these storm troops only in the second stage of development in East Europe when the democratic and socialist forces had already won a decisive victory in these countries and the organisation of the anti-Soviet, pro-imperialist political forces could no longer be entrusted to the defeated groups of open reaction.

Fitting in with these two periods, the Tito gang attempted, up to the resolution of the Information Bureau, to hinder the peaceful development of the peoples' democracies in a so-called peaceful manner, and only later did they take to using terrorist and putsch methods.

Just as Yugoslavia was still in reserve in the years immediately after the war and only later became the open storm troops of imperialism, so in the same way Rajk did not immediately, in the first stages of Hungarian democratic development, come into prominence, but remained an instrument in the hands of reaction at home and abroad. Only later, after the decisive victories of the Hungarian working class and after the routing of the different reactionary forces, did he come into prominence and, as the Tito clique's candidate for the post of Prime Minister he became, if only temporarily, the head of Hungarian reaction. The Titoites and their imperialist bosses did not turn to Rajk because of his beautiful eyes but because they could no longer turn to Ferenc Nagy and Mindszenty. But they did not abandon the reactionary kulaks and clerical reactionary forces once they had put their cards on Rajk. At Paks Rankovich especially called Rajk's attention to the importance of using clerical reaction, explaining that for the success of the armed putsch it was absolutely necessary that there should not

be only one Pócspetri, but that they should turn the whole country into one great Pócspetri.

A necessary accessory of such gangster methods and the gangster programme was the gangster art of lurking in the dark, pretence, political disguise and duplicity. Rankovich gave Rajk lessons in this art. He explained to him Tito's so-called "ingenious" reorientation plan, how they would orientate the masses of the Yugoslav people stage by stage against the Soviet Union and the peoples' democracies. This gangster art of camouflage they prepared to use in Hungary also, where the new Rajk government wanted to issue a manifesto after the putsch about its unchanged "friendship" towards the Soviet Union, at the same time offering their mediating services in the conflict between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. In preparing Rákosi's murder, in preparing the country for subjection, abandoning the path of Soviet-Hungarian friendship, Rajk and his band at the same time prepared to deceive the Hungarian working people.

To throw dust in the eyes of the Hungarian working people, he wanted to extend a fascist, murderous hand, dipped in communist blood, in friendship to the Soviet Union.

Honoured People's Court! With this so-called political programme and with these methods was the destructive work of the traitors and spies conducted not only in our country, but in all the countries of the people's democracy is shown by the statements of Brankov, Pálffy and Rajk about the connections of the Titoites, about the undermining work done by their agents from Albania to Poland and from Rumania to Czechoslovakia.

Honoured members of the People's Court! At this trial not only the Yugoslav masters of Rajk and his accomplices are in the dock but also Tito's masters, the western and primarily the American imperialists. This trial throws light upon the special methods of disorganisation employed by the American intelligence services. For it becomes evident from the material of the trial that the American intelligence services were already getting ready during the war against Hitler for the fight against the forces of socialism and democracy. They did this not only by diplomatic and political methods but with the base means of internally disorganising the democratic forces and revolutionary workers' parties. Behind Rankovich there are the shadows of Mr. Field and Mr. Dulles.

— To the exposures of the Rajk conspiracy case the American imperialists reply with their usual denials, and with repeated outright denials according to their well-known methods. Lieutenant-

Colonel Kovach made a statement saying that he has never in his life met Rajk ; Mr. Chapin, the former Minister of the United States in Budapest, declared that he had never spoken with Rajk about the latter's meeting with Rankovich in Kelebia and about Tito's plans. The leaders of the American intelligence organisations refuse to admit anything and try to bring up alibis. But what grounds do they have for their denials when their policy, their deeds serve as proofs? Is it true or not that in the American zone of Austria the fascist troops of Ferenc Kisbarnaki Farkas are still there, organised in military units? What are they maintained for if not for purposes of the kind which have been show up here at the trial? What basis do they have for denying that Mr. Allan Dulles had something to do with Tibor Szőnyi's espionage groups when Allan Dulles' brother, John Foster Dulles, announced the so-called "Operation X" project for organising underground movements — in the peoples' democracies in the spring of 1948, that is, at the very time that Tito and Rajk and company intensified their activities?

— The substance of this secret plan was summarised by the Swiss paper "Die Tat", in its issue of April 26, 1949, after John Foster Dulles, as follows: "The West attempted first of all to penetrate into the cadres and elite of the ruling classes of the peoples' democracies and it is said they succeeded in this beyond their hopes". So the paper "Die Tat" wrote in the issue referred to.

— Well, the material of the whole trial is contained in this confession of a few lines as well as Tito, Kardelj, Djilas and Rankovich, and the whole gang. Here the practical execution of the project of the American imperialists called "Operation X" was unveiled. So what is the use of Mr. Chapin's, Mr. Dulles', and Lieutenant-Colonel Kovach's denial and alibi?

— At this trial we tore the mask off the gangster methods, fascist methods and aims of the "only redeeming" American "democracy". Here this so-called democracy stands before us as the lawful heir of Hitler's and Horthy's methods, as well as Hitler's and Horthy's men. American "democracy" took over Rajk, Stolte, Schweinitzer and Kisbarnaki Farkas from fascism, putting them into its service to use them against the Hungarian people.

— American imperialism was the instigator and executor behind Tito's and Rankovich's entire political programme and "putsch" plans! The American and British intelligence services purchased Tito and his clique even during the war against Hitler, to prevent the national and social liberation of the peoples of South Eastern Europe, to isolate the Soviet Union, and to prepare the third world war. The anti-Soviet plan for the Balkan bloc was

born not in Tito's head but in the intelligence offices of Washington and London. The putsch in Hungary, planned by Tito and his clique to be put into action by Rajk's spy ring cannot be understood out of the context of the international plans of the American imperialists. Let us remember what Rajk said about the timing of the armed putsch, By this he meant the selection of a favourable moment from the point of view of world politics, that is, of a moment when the Soviet Union would be tied down, in order to allow free hands for the Yugoslav adventurers to carry out their internal and external armed intervention against the Hungarian People's Republic.

— From the material of the trial it has become evident that Rajk's armed putsch and murders were scheduled for the period between February 1949 and June 1949. Szőnyi wanted to convene the Party conference to follow the putsch for the summer of 1949. Pálffy indicated the spring of 1949 for the date of the realisation of the putsch plan. Now, let us remember the world political situation at this period. It is hardly a mistake to state that the deliberately intensified conflict about the Berlin airlift, the so-called cold war against the Soviet Union which was deliberately intensified before the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers, served in part to help Rankovich's and Rajk's timing by tying down the Soviet Union and thus the ensuring a free hand for the Yugoslav and Hungarian assassins.

— When the authorities of the Hungarian Republic started to mop up the conspiracy, and to arrest the conspirators, then they not only defended the state order of the Hungarian People's Republic from hired assassins, but also at the same time foiled the plans of the warmongers in a not unimportant sector of international politics.

— I have no doubt that the severity and consistency of the verdict of the People's Court will further help to upset the aggressive plans of the imperialist warmongers with the ruthless liquidation of this treacherous band of conspirators. This trial and the verdict to follow is part of the battle for peace, fought by the democratic and socialist forces of the world against the warmongers. At this trial, honoured People's Court, we are dealing with the merciless mopping-up of the agents of the warmongers in Hungary, of the fifth column of the imperialists.

— Honoured People's Court! Let us for a minute turn our attention from the political background and international connections of this case and let us cast a glance upon the accused themselves. What sort of people, what sort of a group is this, honoured People's Court? In the dock, there are mean, petty sneaks and big

political agents, but this difference between Ognjenovich and László Rajk, for instance, is only a matter of quantity and not of quality, for László Rajk began his career not as the candidate for the premiership of the counter-revolution, not as a big political agent but as a petty police informer. And indeed, it is not this that is the real difference between the individual accused but the fact that there are among them common fascists who hate the people, like Pálffy and Korondy, and there are among them some who practised the trade of the traitor, permeating the labour movement. A common feature is, however, that we are dealing with the scum of society, all of whom became what they are in the 'thirties, in the atmosphere of growing fascism. Szőnyi and Rajk, Justus and Szalai, at that time were swept along to the fringe of the labour movement, but at the moment of the first trials they became traitors because of their cowardly and vacillating characters and their rootless personalities.

— In connection with this case they ask in the Western countries from certain sides: How did so many traitors get into the ranks of the revolutionary labour movement? It is ironic that the very people ask this who would be best able to answer this question, that these spokesmen of the intelligence services, of the imperialist trusts, call us to account for these traitors, the very ones who sent them into our ranks for the internal dissolution of the revolutionary movement. It is an old method to send hostile spies and *provocateurs* into the workers' parties. Is it that the workers' parties were not able to expose these traitors immediately? If only we had had in our hands the files which contained the lists! As is known, the dossiers of the Hungarian police are not at our disposal but at the disposal of the American intelligence service.

— In connection with this case many people have also raised this question: Why did they deal at the trial only with the investigation of facts, why not also with the examination of the psychology of the accused?

— At the trial of a conspiracy against the state, in my opinion, it is the deeds of the accused which are decisive. Psychological motives are very unimportant. It is not difficult, however, to explain the psychological development of the accused either. Why did they become traitors? Because they were cowardly and vacillating, because they were not able to make any sacrifices. Why did they not desist from their trade of treachery later? For the same reason that they started it: they were in the hands of their masters, they were afraid of exposure, they had not enough courage to come out with their soiled past themselves. Why do they confess? Why don't

they deny, or why don't they defend themselves? Because they have been exposed, because they know that they cannot help themselves by a denial. There is no regret in them, only fear of punishment. Their confessions are the results not of regret, but of their exposure.

— Precisely because of this, Honoured People's Court, there is no extenuating circumstance. There are no extenuating circumstances, only aggravating circumstances. When you will mete out sentence to the treacherous gang leader László Rajk, do not forget about Ferenc Rózsa and Zoltán Schönherz, whose death he brought about, and do not forget about the betrayed building workers who were imprisoned. When you pass judgement upon András Szalai, remember the 64 revolutionaries who were killed in the prison of Sátoraljaújhely and for whose death he is responsible. When you judge Pál Justus do not forget about his code number, and mete out a sentence not only to Rankovich's spy but also to Péter Hain's informer, code number J/17. When you judge Pálffy and Korondy think of their predecessors, think of the murderers whom they were getting ready to imitate, of the officer murderers of 1919, the Pronays and the Ostenburgs. When you pass your sentence on Brankov, think of the hangman Rankovich, one of whose chief agents this man was, think of the suffering of the Yugoslav patriots. When you judge Szőnyi, think of his masters, the American imperialists who wish to bring the Hungarian people to the fate of the suffering, bleeding Greek people.

Our people demand death for the traitors and I, as the representative of the prosecuting authority, identify myself with this demand. The head of the snake which wants to bite us must be crushed. We must defend the achievements of our democracy, our national independence and our peaceful building work from traitors and assassins. A verdict is called for from which every imperialist spy and traitor will learn what he must expect if he dares to raise his hand against our People's Republic. The only defence against mad dogs is to beat them to death. In arriving at its verdict, the People's Court should be conscious of the fact, that its highest duty is to defend the people against the fifth column in the pay of the imperialists. The people's interests demand the meting out of the heaviest sentence prescribed by the law, to all the accused.

SPEECHES FOR THE DEFENCE

After an interval the President of the Court, Dr. Péter Jankó, calls upon the Counsels for Defence to deliver their speeches. (We publish here the eight speeches of the Defence, but — in order to make perusal of them simpler — only the essential extracts.)

First

Dr. Elek Kaszó

László Rajk's Counsel speaks :

Honoured Special Council of the People's Court! I stand here in defence of László Rajk, the first accused, in one of the greatest criminal cases of Hungarian history.

— The crimes of László Rajk are not of the common run. Why then should his defence be similar to that of the accused in an ordinary criminal case? He maintained his attitude, his general appearance, his behaviour here at the trial, too, so he obviously felt during his humble confession of his criminal acts and during the time that he spoke of them, for hours and hours — it is difficult for me to find the best expression but perhaps I have to say — he felt that it would be ironic for him to appeal all the time to extenuating circumstances and regret. The Defence, however, is not lay, and so during the whole confession, he heard all the time, even from the slightest change in tone, that the defendant was defending himself, and what is more he was defending himself with all his strength, for whenever there was any possibility he pointed out those compelling circumstances which must certainly be considered and which make it possible to judge the acts he committed less strictly.

— The methods of interrogation employed by the counter-revolutionary police are well-known, and although we reserve our respects for those, or the memory of those, who remained loyal to their principles in spite of all torture and were never willing to secure their own escape with behaviour as a result of which even the slightest harm or suffering might have been caused to others, the Defence acknowledges, though with mixed feelings, that there were some who could not resist when tortured or were so afraid of torture in advance that finally they sold their honour.

— László Rajk signed a statement and from then on, like Goethe's Dr. Faust, he, too, could not get away from the devil. This becomes clear in the first place from that part of his statement in which he says that the police sent him to Czechoslovakia in 1935 to expose those communists who were sending illegal material to Hungary through Salgótarján. "I naturally agreed to do this, there was nothing else I could have done" — László Rajk said about this. The accused says in another part of his statement that when he was given an important position in the Hungarian Communist Party after the Liberation, that is when he became secretary of the Greater Budapest Party organisation, he was visited by Lieutenant-Kovach, a member of the American Military Mission. Colonel Kovach informed him that he had learned from Sombor-Schweinitzer, the former Horthy police commissioner now living in the American zone, that the accused had been a police informer. He asked him to put his services at the disposal of the American intelligence service and said that if he did not agree he would expose him to the secretariat of the Communist Party which would also, of course, have meant that criminal proceedings would be started against him. In the summer of 1947 László Rajk spent his holidays in Abbazia, Yugoslavia. László Rajk says in his statement that the Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich visited him there and blackmailed the accused with a photostat of the statement which László Rajk had made to Police Commissioner Hetényi in 1931, and in which, in return for his release, he had agreed to become an informer.

The Defence should point to section 72 of the Criminal Code, according to which moral compulsion is a cause excluding or reducing full responsibility, if the threat is to life or to physical soundness, that is, a danger whose occurrence is immediately possible and cannot otherwise be prevented. In the case of László Rajk, even if being under threat did not always entirely reduce his willpower, it did, however, seriously influence it, as it triumphed over the counter-motives which would have prevented him committing the crimes. On a point of law it has to be pointed out that according to the indictment László Rajk is guilty under section 2 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930, of sedition and under section 1 of Article I of Act VII 1946, of once and continuously committing the crime of having been the leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order. According to the practice evolved by the National Council of the People's Court, if the sedition is directed towards the overthrow of the democratic state order, then section 2 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930 is incorporated with section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946.

The first accused in the indictment is considered guilty of war crimes under section 4 of Article 13 of Order 81/1945. M. E. given legal force by Act VII of 1945, which he committed in joining, although a Hungarian citizen, the ranks of the German army, or the German security service SS, Gestapo etc. The indictment obviously considers that this crime was committed when a German commission arrived at the internment camp at Vernet in 1941, headed by a Gestapo major who took Rajk on his own request to work in Germany and from there sent him home to Hungary. László Rajk, while admitting these actions, goes no further in his statement that this, the indictment goes no further in its statement of facts, and no material came to light at the trial, according to which the accused did serve in the SS or another German organisation. On this basis, the accused did not with the above-mentioned acts commit acts such as are defined as war crimes in the People's Court order, Article 13 section 4.

I would say that I consider László Rajk to be only an accused of the second degree in these criminal proceedings — the imperialists are the accused in the first degree. László Rajk was only an instrument in their hands, who would perhaps have remained a decent person if there had not been forces wanting to cause blood to flow in Europe, and everywhere in the world where a fight was being waged for progress, socialism, humanity and truth. László Rajk stands before the court accused of serious crimes. He wanted to overthrow the democratic state order, working together with the agents of foreign powers. But he shrank from taking the final steps. It is a fact that before anything could have happened, the conspiracy was discovered. I know that this alters nothing in the subjective guilt of László Rajk, but this complete lack of result and the fact that the accused recoiled, in any case reduces the objective seriousness of the crime.

That László Rajk's statement admitted everything, greatly contributed to the fact that the entire conspiracy was exposed and we could see clearly who are the people who are fighting against the state order, independence and freedom. Taking all this into consideration, I ask for a lenient sentence.

This was followed by

Dr. István Kovács

György Pálffy's Counsel for Defence.

Honoured Special Council of the People's Court! In this trial the Defence is, in a way, confronted with a dilemma. The Defence is in a difficult position and it should, perhaps, therefore be accorded more emphasis than usual because many of our fellow citizens justly ask,

should and can these accused be defended at all? If we examine this question, honoured People's Court, the answer, however difficult the proof, can only be, yes, this task can and should be accepted, the task which falls on the Defence by reason of its profession and function.

Dr. Kovács continued to enlarge on the duties of the Defence, and then continued :

In this trial the Defence has to assemble mitigating circumstances which would serve as the basis of the defence out of small bricks, pebbles or even grains of dust, trying to build some kind of shelter for the defendant in this way. I think we can all agree that the main accused in this trial are the western imperialists and the Tito agents dangling on their strings. I am sorry to say they are not sitting before us on the benches of the accused, but their spirit hovers above all the crimes of the accused. The Defence cannot take the standpoint that the accused were only blind tools in the hands of these forces. For who could deny that the people sitting before us are well-educated, highly intelligent, capable of independent will. But yet the Defence can venture to state that a great part of the responsibility, and it can be said, a really significant part falls on these dark powers, who found the most suitable, least resisting elements with the least backbone for their base attacks against the progressive forces of humanity. Those who used and ruthlessly exploited all the weaknesses of character in the accused, who debase human beings with blackmail, outdoing even the rate of the American gangsters in their ways and means, turn them into traitors to their country and into spies. They make use of ministers who are ready to sell their people, the Rankoviches and the like, these monsters devoid of all human feeling, who, carrying compromising documents in their pockets like ordinary blackmailers, induce others to commit the most heinous crimes. They steal and cheat, they lie and incite people to treason, they pay with Judas money and buy the blood of the working people, sitting on their money bags, they threaten the welfare of humanity and their polluted breath is felt even in the general atmosphere of decay that we have seen at this trial.

We all know that they will expiate their crimes and the powerful invincible camp of the progressive powers of the world will annihilate their dark forces.

The Defence, in wanting to place the major part of the responsibility and guilt upon these forces, asks you at the same time to consider that that part of the guilt which is put on these forces should be taken as a mitigating circumstance when establishing

the guilt of my defendant. László Rajk had a particularly great influence on my defendant, György Pálffy. György Pálffy's connections with László Rajk were strengthened as early as 1945, that is when he started on his terrible, guilty path. The leadership of the country has to be taken over by Rajk — said Rankovich, the bloody-handed Minister of Home Affairs. Pálffy admitted the leadership and influence of Rajk, whose abilities were greater than his. György Pálffy admitted that he reported to László Rajk without delay and in detail on his discussions with Colonel Nedelkovich at the Rome congress. László Rajk, however, — as revealed by the evidence at the trial — was already acquainted with everything at the time the report took place since he, as the head of the movement against the people, had been informed of the treacherous plans of the Tito gangsters earlier than Pálffy.

It was Pálffy's duty technically to organise the meetings with Rankovich. László Rajk did not even tell him where this meeting took place. Pálffy, so to speak, played the role of an expert — and I use this word in quotation marks, in the bad sense of the word — the role of the expert who, as a soldier, had to find the best place and territory for this base and hideous conspiracy. He prepared plans for the armed putsch, also on Rajk's instructions, to whom he submitted them and who explicitly agreed to them. Pálffy was an easy prey to his ruthless, evil-doing masters, for Brankov also correctly said of him in his statement: it was not difficult to recruit him as they saw even at the first meeting that in Pálffy they were faced with a man who, because of his nationalist education and convictions, was immediately inclined to follow the line indicated by them.

In the case of György Pálffy, another part, and a very important part, of the guilt can be attributed to the reactionary Horthy system, fascist Italy, Mussolini and his fellow gangsters, the bank directors and kulaks, and the Defence asks that these points should be taken into consideration when meting out sentence.

The third category in the arguments of the Defence — as I have already mentioned — is the penitent admission of the accused. The accused György Pálffy penitently admitted everything. He acknowledged his guilt and did not belittle his role, neither did he attempt to reduce the importance of his crimes and before the People's Court he has exhibited all the horrors, all the baseness of a man who has erred.

I have to bring up the mitigating circumstances because on the basis of these points of view I must request the honoured People's Court to judge whether section 91 of the Criminal Code

can be applied when sentencing the accused György Pálffy, or not. The defence asks you to weigh up the mitigating circumstances just mentioned or otherwise apparent when passing sentence.

Then

Dr. László Néray,

Counsel for Defence for Lazar Brankov, spoke.

The indictment charges Lazar Brankov on three counts. According to the indictment the first crime is, as defined in section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946, that of having once and continuously been the leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order. According to the indictment the second crime is defined in section 3 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930; and within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61, as the crime of espionage. The third crime — in the words of the indictment — is that of being an accomplice to murder by incitement before the act, according to section 1 of Article 69 of the Criminal Code, in contravention of Article 278 of the Criminal Code.

Honoured People's Court! We have to examine whether the facts that have been established at the trial prove the crimes mentioned in the charge, whether the indictment states the facts correctly and whether it classifies the acts of Lazar Brankov correctly, according to our laws. The penal classification of these acts of the third accused is disputable. It cannot be accepted as correct in its reference to section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946 in the indictment, that is its reference to the accused being guilty of having been the leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order. The accused was only a member of this organisation, and not its leader. The trial left no doubt on the question of who were the leading persons of the organisation. Some of the leaders are sitting here in the dock, some of them are not sitting here among the accused, but the accused have named those who were pulling the strings of this organisation aimed at the overthrow of this democratic state order from abroad. Lazar Brankov, the third accused, was only an agent of theirs, his activity therefore is within the meaning of section 2 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946, as a deed of active participation in, or promotion of the organisation.

The third accused admitted that he had committed the crime indicated in paragraph 3/B of parts 1 and 2 of the indictment. The data revealed at the trial supported this admission. The unacceptable part is, however, Honoured People's Court, the qualification of this activity in the indictment. The spying deeds of the accused are not within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61 of Act

III. 1930, since Article 61 of Act III. 1930, was replaced by the cumulative condition required by section 3 of Article 2 of Act XVIII. 1934, saying — here I quote the law — that the deed has been committed by exploiting public employment, or a position of official trust or a position arising from service or contract with the authorities. This does not hold good in the case of Lazar Brankov, the third accused; for it is evident that the passage of the law quoted, alludes to a civil servant of the Hungarian state or an official trust of the Hungarian state or a position arising from service or contract with the Hungarian authorities. Consequently, Lazar Brankov who is a Yugoslav citizen and was subject to the above position with regard to the Yugoslav state and its authorities, is not liable to punishment according to section 3 of Article 2 of Act XVIII. 1934, the activity of the third accused is within the meaning of section 2 of Article 2 of Act XVIII. 1934, which replaced Article 61 of Act III. 1930.

Paragraph 3/C of parts 1 and 2 of the indictment accuses the third accused Lazar Brankov of the crime of murder in contravention of Article 278 of the Criminal Code, committed as an accessory to murder by incitement before the deed, as defined by section 1 of Article 69 of the Criminal Code. The third accused did not plead guilty to the crime covered by this paragraph of the indictment. This part of the indictment was not corroborated by the facts revealed at the trial. This part of the indictment, honoured People's Court, is not valid either from the point of view of the facts, or the meaning of the law.

From the facts which emerged at the trial it can be established that Lazar Brankov did not incite Živko Boarov, who killed Miloš Moich. On the contrary, from the proceedings of the trial it can be established that Lazar Brankov opposed the murder of Miloš Moich and disapproved of the directives of Tito and Rankovich to this end. The vague statement about this of the murderer Boarov cannot be taken into consideration. Boarov cannot know what happened between Brankov and Mrazovich, whether or not Brankov opposed the murder. The confrontation remained fruitless, but Boarov, too, only stated that Brankov in his, Boarov's, presence did not oppose the action to be committed against Moich, which is easily conceivable, as a Counsellor of a Legation cannot well defy the Minister in the presence of a member of the public. The statement of the indictment according to which Lazar Brankov instructed Živko Boarov to kill Miloš Moich, and that according to the indictment he gave the revolver of the Yugoslav Minister Mrazovich to Boarov, was not proved at all. On the contrary, the facts revealed at the trial show

that Lazar Brankov had a dispute with Yugoslav Minister Mrazovich, who approved of the instructions of Tito and Rankovich and that it was Mrazovich himself who gave his revolver to Boarov. The murder was organised by Blažich and the attaché to the Legation Živko Boarov, and on that occasion Brankov was not even present.

Hence, in my opinion it is indisputable that, against Brankov, the charge of incitement to murder is not established.

After this, Dr. Névay went into details of Brankov's character, speaking of "weakness of willpower" and "wavering" and concluded his plea as follows:

Honoured People's Court! I believe these weighty extenuating circumstances cannot be disregarded in establishing the degree of guilt and the verdict to be passed on the third accused. I appeal to the Court for a merciful verdict.

The President gives the floor to

Dr. György Csanády

Counsel for Defence for Dr. Tibor Szőnyi:

Honoured People's Court!

The Prosecutor has proved at the trial the facts contained in the indictment. I do not wish to discuss these facts as they were humbly admitted by the accused and were also corroborated by the other data of the trial. On the basis of these facts, the charge against Dr. Tibor Szőnyi comprises, on the one hand, the crime of sedition within the meaning of part 2 of section 1 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930, and within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61; on the other hand, it comprises the crime of having been a leader of an organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic state order as defined in section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946.

Against this latter qualification of the Prosecutor, however, I have to raise an objection, as according to the view of the Defence Tibor Szőnyi is guilty not of having been a leader, but only of having actively participated in an anti-democratic organisation, that is to say that his crime is within the meaning of section 2, and not of section 1, of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946.

Tibor Szőnyi supported this anti-democratic movement with two deeds. First, by giving directives to his spy group which he put into important posts of the state and economic apparatus, to strive to exert disruptive work and propaganda against the political line of the Communist Party and the people's democracy. Secondly, that in the course of his connections with Rajk and upon Rajk's instructions, he abused his high position and placed into the

state and economic apparatus individuals whom he knew to be spies, or pro-American elements hostile to the people's democracy.

With regard to the first deed, the Szőnyi group was in the first place and decisively an espionage group. Its disturbing activity and wrecking work was apt to create a favourable atmosphere for an anti-democratic conspiracy. With this, however, they attained only the stage of preliminary activities for an anti-democratic conspiracy, thus being liable to punishment according to Article 6 of Act VII. 1946. After establishing contact with Rajk, the imperialist masters actually attached Szőnyi, and through Szőnyi his group, to the organisation which the imperialists had created for the actual overthrow of the Hungarian people's democracy. From that time on, however, the leading role in the movement was played by László Rajk.

With regard to Szőnyi's other series of deeds, concerning the placing of other spies and vacillating elements outside his group, — according to the facts which emerged at the trial one could not speak of a definite organisation. This was only a reserve of the anti-democratic conspiracy and as a preliminary activity, ranks again within Article 6 of Act VII. 1946.

Szőnyi's decline started when the American secret service ensnared him with intent. A group of people living in political emigration in Switzerland, who had long been isolated from the work of the movement, having confused political ideas, was approached at first unobtrusively by the American espionage service. The first American organising agent presented himself as a representative of an unselfish, charitable religious relief organisation and exploiting the financial position of the refugees, supported them with small amounts of financial aid. "Supported them!" Most probably, in the Western press they even boasted of the charitable work which the American religious organisations performed among politically persecuted persons. But obviously they omitted to say anything of the fact that these relief organisations were identical with the organising, the leading stratum of the espionage organisations, and that the receipts of the subsidies paid, which they demanded with the accuracy of an accountant, were also kept in reserve for the purposes of blackmail.

Thus it was that Field approached the Swiss group, that is, Szőnyi, through under-cover activity pursued throughout a number of years, and it was in this way that Szőnyi came to be under his obligation, and his liking for the Americans was increased.

This, however, was only the first stage in the policy of ensnaring. Then the instrument of ideological deception also appeared. Exploiting the personal connection established, and the political chaos of the Szőnyi group, the American secret service smuggled among them the book of the renegade of the working class, the ex-communist Browder. The agent of the Yugoslav Tito group — who was incidentally, an American spy, yet of course disguised as a soldier of revolutionary Yugoslavia, also joined. Through the intervention of all these, they succeeded first in inducing this petty bourgeois group to accept American imperialist policy and to make it the basis of their political activity, and later, to become its accomplices, its spies.

This means that Szőnyi, was purposely, and by artful methods, drawn into the espionage organisation, first through financial obligations, then through ideological deception, and it is characteristic that when Szőnyi was already willing to enter the service of the espionage organisation, then Dulles, just to make quite certain, produced from his pocket the receipt for the financial aid. Szőnyi's first step on the path of crime was not taken on his own initiative, was not even a consequence of fear of physical punishment, on the contrary it was the result of the thorough, manifold organising activity of the imperialist agents, and we cannot entirely disregard this fact in establishing Szőnyi's responsibility.

According to Szőnyi's humble admission at the trial, which was not refuted in the course of the trial and due to its sincerity deserves full credit, Szőnyi recoiled on hearing the plan of a violent, armed assumption of power and attempted to discourage Rajk.

Naturally, all this is apt to mitigate the terrible weight of Szőnyi's crime, only to an insignificant degree, but it too belongs to the clearing up of the role played by Szőnyi.

As a truly and significantly mitigating circumstance I can only mention that Szőnyi, who in the last phase was already hesitating, has after his arrest turned against his crimes, turned against the heinous organisation which abused him as an instrument and of which he himself was an important part, and with his admissions, from the very beginning has endeavoured to contribute to averting the danger which he himself helped to conjure up.

The verdict to be pronounced in this trial will be the verdict of the people on those who wanted to replace the peaceful work of the working people, their secure and happy life, with misery and a blood bath. This verdict will echo far beyond the frontiers of the country. To the Court of the Hungarian people's democracy that is conscious of its power, I appeal for a merciful verdict for Tibor

Szőnyi who though guilty of a grave crime, yet was merely an instrument of the principal criminals.

For the Defence of András Szalai,

*Dr. János Somfai
takes the floor :*

Honoured People's Court! András Szalai can be ranked only as a hundredth or thousandth accused of the trial now facing its conclusion. He is preceded by the dark powers of imperialism physically still invisible, yet in their operations more perceptible. These dark powers must be outlined, — because they cannot be defended, no possibility of defence exists for them.

András Szalai is guilty, he admitted his crimes himself. In consideration of the facts admitted by him and proved by the evidence at the trial, in his defence I can only state in what respects he proved to be guilty, and what criminal acts he committed, which laws, which passages of the law, he violated by his activity.

In the following passage, the Counsel for Defence explained that when Szalai betrayed the prisoners of the Sátorajauhely jail who attempted to break away, he could not guess that as a consequence, 64 persons would be massacred and his activity should therefore be judged more leniently.

In opposition to the standpoint of the prosecution — the defender went on — according to which András Szalai is guilty of the crime of sedition indicated by section 3 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930 and within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61, the standpoint of the Defence is that the activity of the accused is to be considered within the meaning of section 2 of Article 64; András Szalai's activity would only be considered within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61 quoted by the prosecuting authority, if he had committed the criminal act considered to be the crime of the accused, by abusing his position in the civil service or his official appointment. But the accused was not a public official and also had no official appointment. Thus, András Szalai's criminal act cannot be considered according to the point of view of the Prosecutor, but only according to that of the Defence, in accordance with section 2 of Article 64, as I have explained.

I call the attention of the honoured People's Court to the fact that all the secrets which András Szalai admitted he had communicated to Tito's agent were, in fact, the same as the Yugoslav intelligence service became acquainted with through László Rajk or György Pálffy. To refer only to one example, in the case of the fron-

tier guard, György Pálffy himself admitted that there was no secret which he would not communicate to the Tito gang, and therefore the secrets communicated by András Szalai could have no special value or importance.

These circumstances raised by the Defence can at least be considered as essential mitigating circumstances.

In opposition to the standpoint of the prosecution, according to which András Szalai is guilty of the crime of leading an organisation directed at the overthrow of the democratic state order, indicated by section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946, the standpoint of the Defence is that the activity of the accused, that is, the placing of the persons indicated by the Yugoslav intelligence service into more or less, but rather less, important positions, can only be considered within the meaning of section 1 of Article 64 of Act III. 1930, for he placed the persons indicated to him for the purpose of making accessible to the persons acting in the interest of Tito's intelligence service, the secret or secrets with which the Yugoslav intelligence service wished to get acquainted.

There are no data indicating that the accused would have united, directed and led the activity of the few persons he had appointed.

The Defence called attention to Szalai's admission of his guilt and requested a lenient sentence from the People's Court.

The President : Next comes

*Dr. Emil Zarubai
for the Defence of Milan Ognjenovich.*

Dr. Zarubai : Honoured People's Court. Starting to speak in defence of Milan Ognjenovich, I admit that I, too, am under the influence of the speech for the prosecution. The political evaluation of this grave criminal trial was given by the People's Prosecutor in such a way that the indictment cannot be attacked from the standpoint of the political evaluation, even by the Defence. I must, however, contest the standpoint of the indictment in essential questions from the point of view of the legal evaluation, in order to establish the truth. The accused Ognjenovich also admitted the facts accepted as the basis of the charge. This admission is in accordance with the other data of the trial, notably with Brankov's statement. So there is no possibility for the Defence to plead something which would serve as an extenuating circumstance for the accused, even from the point of view of the question of proof. The facts are given, and it is impossible for the Defence to contest them. What

can be attacked in the charge against the accused Ognjenovich is, on the one hand the question of the legal classification, and on the other hand the question of meting out the punishment.

As neither the person, nor the act committed by the accused, are so dangerous, that the severest sentence indicated by section 1 of Article 61 would be justified — Counsel for the Defence ended his speech — I respectfully ask that these mitigating circumstances be taken into consideration when sentence is meted out.

Next came

Dr. Ferenc Alács.

Counsel for Defence of Béla Korondy.

Honoured People's Court. There is no doubt that the instigators of the conspiracy intended that Korondy should do the dirtiest work, for if the conspiracy had been carried out, it would have been he who would have given the orders for the execution of the bestial murders. There is no doubt that Korondy engaged himself — at least in the presence of Rajk and Pálffy — to carry out these tasks, and in this way he became a member of the movement designed to overthrow the state order. This is proved, in addition to his pleading guilty, by the corresponding statements of Rajk and Pálffy. Thus, his guilt is indisputable.

The Defence has no doubt, too, that he has committed a crime under Act VII. 1946 concerning the legal defence of the democratic state order and the Republic. The indictment classifies Korondy's participation in the conspiracy within the meaning of section 1 of Article 1 of this act, that is, Korondy's activity would be equivalent to that of leading the organisation directed towards the overthrow of the democratic state order. However, I should consider this classification of the indictment an error. The above act of Korondy consists of taking instructions from Rajk and Pálffy. It is also obvious that if the putsch were carried out and the instructions obeyed, Korondy would have been the leader of those armed troops whose tasks we already know. He would, in fact, have been a leader if he had organised those groups for the purposes of the putsch, in accordance with his instructions in the plan which was made known to him.

But we know that the putsch did not take place and, thus, as it did not get so far as to be carried out, the instructions given by the first accused were not carried out either.

In other words, in this connection Korondy had no opportunity to carry out the activities for which he was designed, marked out, as a leader. It is true that Korondy admitted that he caused the

penetration of Horthy's officers and other anti-democratic elements not only into the military political department, but also into the frontier guard, the Ministry of Home Affairs and the police. But this placing of his reactionary confederates took place continuously, even from 1945, long before he had become acquainted with the conspiracy.

Pleading guilty, he said in his statement that László Rajk made him acquainted with the plan of the uprising only in March, 1948, that, is one and a half years after he was appointed to the Ministry of Home Affairs. There are no proofs and even the indictment did not say that Korondy would have placed anybody for the purpose of the conspiracy or would have helped them to be cleared, or would have saved them from inclusion in the dismissals list. We don't know anyone whom Korondy acquainted with the plan of the putsch or organised into the conspiracy. Consequently there are no such persons led by Korondy in this capacity of conspirator and of whom he could be considered as leader of their activities directed to the overthrow of the democratic state order.

It is most probable that he would have carried out his underground work if the leaders had given the signal. But this is only a probability, honoured People's Court, and not being the subject of the indictment, it cannot be taken into consideration in passing sentence.

Finally Counsel for Pál Justus.

Dr. József Nehéz-Possony

spoke for the Defence :

Honoured People's Court. Pál Justus the eighth accused fully admitted his guilt in the charge. This circumstance discharges the Defence of the accustomed obligation to explain the statement of the facts in detail.

The statement of Pál Justus has shown the same astonishing picture about the attitude of this accused during the trial as has been shown by the statements of his fellow-accused, with whose activity both the honoured representative of the Prosecution and my colleagues, the Counsels for Defence have dealt. This picture is an astonishing one in the case of Pál Justus, too. He was a member of the Central Committee of the leading Party of the country. The accused was a member of the National Assembly, the vice-president of the Hungarian Radio, a man in a high political position, in a good job with a nice salary, who got everything from this state order and society, from the people's democracy, that a member of a society,

a citizen of a state, could get. And suddenly, it appeared that this man was a police informer; that at the same time he was the member of two foreign intelligence services, that he disseminated Trotskyist propaganda in the interests of foreign imperialist aims and what is more, he participated in an organisation directed against the state order of the people's democracy, with the aim of overthrowing it.

As in the case of all the accused at this trial, the question arises whether there is anything to say in defence of the accused. As the accused fully admitted his guilt in respect of facts and in the crimes of which he is accused, the task of the Defence can only be, in the given case, the correct legal classification of the crimes and the enumeration of the extenuating circumstances with reference to his personal circumstances.

After this, there remains nothing but a short summary of the extenuating circumstances, to wit, the penitent admission from the very beginning of the investigation proceedings, which was therefore of a revealing valuable character. He came from a petty bourgeois milieu into the working class movement and because of his class position he vacillated. Right at the beginning, his contact with the working class movement took place by way of a fraction group. He worked in the Social Democratic Party under negligible party discipline and although I cannot say this about his later activities, at least his start is greatly characterised and influenced by the negligible education he received in the Social Democratic Party.

He got into the clutches of the police because of his participation in the working class movement. He undertook to become an informer in a tight spot, and under constraint. He tried in vain later to get rid of the clutches of the police; they reached him wherever he was and continued to blackmail him. He was a victim of Trotskyist influence and propaganda. He is physically sick and in addition, his psychological constitution and will-power were very weak and he behaved in a cowardly way. He only undertook his activities in the intelligence organisation because he was threatened with exposure of his past activity as a police informer; that is, he was in such a tight spot that he could not escape otherwise.

I also make mention of the fact that he committed his crime under the spiritual and forcible influence of others, notably the Tito agents.

Summarising the whole, the defence asks the People's Court to pass a lenient sentence on Pál Justus, in making a correct legal classification of his crimes, and in taking all the extenuating circumstances into consideration.

THE LAST PLEA

The Special Council of the People's Court resumed the trial in the criminal case of Rajk and his accomplices on Thursday morning. The President of the Court, Dr. Péter Jankó, opened the trial a few minutes after 9 a. m.

The President: The Special Council of the People's Court resumes the trial adjourned yesterday. I establish that the Defence is present in its original personal composition. The accused are also present. The accused are entitled to a last plea.

László Rajk

stand forth!

Rajk: Mr. President, Honoured People's Court! In the course of the investigation and on the occasion of my testimony before the People's Court I told everything and admitted everything, both in detail and in substance. I therefore have nothing to add to this. I feel it necessary, however, to make a few additional remarks just touching upon the questions and points which have come up in the meantime.

— In the first place, before the People's Court passes its verdict, to avoid and eliminate any misunderstanding, I must point out that everything that I ever did and committed I committed always on my own decision, after free deliberation. The various accidental circumstances and other compelling conditions to which I referred in my testimony were only of a secondary or even more subordinate nature. In this connection, however, it is undoubtedly true that to a certain extent I became an instrument of Tito, or rather of Tito's policy — of the same Tito who followed in Hitler's wake and followed Hitler's policy in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe, and who was backed by the American imperialists, his ruling masters.

— In conclusion, I fully agree with most of the statements of the Prosecutor; of course, I am not here thinking of the secondary and in any case unimportant details, but of the substance. Now, precisely because of this, I declare in advance that whatever

the sentence of the People's Court may be in my case, I shall consider this sentence just.

The President :

György Pálffy

stand forth!

Pálffy : I am standing before the Court of the Hungarian people because I have committed the gravest crimes against the people and my country. Taking advantage of my Party membership and my high position, I worked against the people consciously and in a planned way, against the same people whom I should have thanked for all my advance and all my prosperity, for whose loyal service and for the defence of whose interests I took an oath. I served the interests of the sworn enemies of the Hungarian people. I have sincerely and deeply regretted my whole criminal activity, all my deeds, plans and my treacherous attitude. It is true that because of my chauvinist and fascist attitude, because of my class position, my whole past and education, I entered the Communist Party only as a pretence to cover up for my real activities, and as an enemy; but since my arrest I have re-evaluated my whole life. And today I can already pass judgement upon my activities. Today I already see clearly what the results of the execution of our plan would have been: instead of peaceful constructive work, bloody civil war; instead of a rising standard of living, the same misery as exists in the Marshallised countries; instead of the freedom of the working people, the rootless, oppressive rule of the returning bourgeoisie; instead of independence, political domination and economic exploitation by the United States; and in addition to all this the fact that this would have been doubly felt through the influence of America's agent, Tito, so that for the Hungarian people it would have meant double oppression; and finally, instead of peace and a socialist future, the role of cannon fodder for the Hungarian people in a new anti-Soviet war, in the interests of profit for the American capitalists and their ambitions for world domination. This would have been the result of our activities had we succeeded.

I am very sorry that it is only now that I see this so clearly in all its connections, and I deeply regret that we brought the Damocles sword of such a menace over the Hungarian people. I feel, however, that I have the right to accuse not only myself and ourselves, but also those who were the actual organisers and managers of this conspiracy against the Hungarian people and against peace: the Tito clique and their masters, the American imperialists. I have

a right to this for I am their victim, too. I have a right to this because as one of the initiated, active, leading members of the conspiracy, I have a chance to expose them. We are heinous criminals but — perhaps there are no further gradations in this, but if there are gradations — Tito, Rankovich and their associates are even worse criminals, they who carry on recklessly and in mass proportions their destructive work endangering peace, against the people and hindering the building of socialism in the countries of the peoples' democracies, in order to prolong their rule over the Yugoslav people for a while yet and to execute the American commands.

From our case, one can establish that a wide-spread network of agents, shrewdly planned actions, an indiscriminate use of any means available, and a persistent attempt at violent armed intervention in the home affairs of foreign countries — these are characteristic of the methods of Tito and his right-hand man, the adventurer Rankovich.

In my case they recognised my chauvinist, fascist attitude, they deliberately and in a planned way developed and used this, and so they drew me in, they enmeshed me in, for the execution of their criminal plans. Rankov spoke to me only figuratively about the need for a political change, he still tried to cover up espionage and my recruitment for the organisation with bombast about mutual co-operation. Ložich gave me concrete advice for wrecking work; and Žokalj then relayed directly and openly Rankovich's instructions.

It is also undoubtedly true — they said it outright — that the instructions on the basis of which they were working came from Tito's immediate circle, in most cases from Rankovich, but more than once from Tito himself. It was not a matter of one or the other organisation, or the whole of the Yugoslav secret service, but it was Tito's personal plans and instructions which were interpreted to me by his agents. Ložich, Žokalj and Nedelkovich also told me clearly that not only here, but in the rest of the peoples' democracies too, the same sort of activities were going on through different agents of Tito and in the framework of a large coherent plan. Tito and his clique themselves are only executors of this plan, the authors are the imperialist leaders of America. In addition, I would like to emphasise that the whole of Tito's and Rankovich's underground activities and their underground network, built up for the sake of these activities, served first of all not to obtain intelligence, but to prepare for armed intervention in domestic affairs, the creation of conditions, the pretext for such an adventurous interven-

tion. Tito and Rankovich, who saw that in the countries of the peoples' democracies the forces of internal reaction have been defeated one after the other, wanted to find a pretext to fulfill the American command through — the last resort but favourite means of adventurers — armed intervention. This command was to tear the peoples' democracies forcibly from the camp of peace and chain them to the camp of the imperialists. To carry out this command at any price — this is the explanation why Tito and Rankovich insisted on this plan with such angry persistence, in spite of the fact that the chances of success for this plan visibly and constantly diminished. This is the reason why the decisive factors in their plan were: common murder, the exportation of hired assassins, and armed adventure.

I know that I cannot reduce my responsibility with all this, but with my confession I would like to make reparations at least in part for all the harm I caused the Hungarian people. I know that I deserve a heavy penalty. I ask the Court to consider my repentance.

The President :

Lazar Brankov !

Brankov : Here I stand facing the People's Court, as one of the participants in the plot against the Hungarian People's Republic. And since I stand before the Court of a country which is building socialism, this puts me under the obligation — as it does every other person who still wants to remain honest — to tell the truth and to speak sincerely. And this is how I have behaved at this trial.

I consider it my duty to state that I have not done so under any coercion. This is my answer to those who will say that I confessed something under coercion, or that some narcotic medicine was used. I consider it my duty to declare squarely here, in front of the People's Court, why I have told about everything and why I have told about everything sincerely.

I severely injured the interests of the Hungarian People's Republic. I severely injured the interests of the Yugoslav people, the interests of my own people and the interests of the whole international working class movement, too.

There are three grave charges against me. The first is that I was member, leader and organiser of the conspiracy, the second, that in my capacity as the chief representative of the UDB, I pursued spying activities on the territory of Hungary and the third, that I was an accessory to the murder of Miloš Moich. I do not want now to belittle my responsibility in stating that I feel myself

guilty on the first and second charge, and that on the third charge, I am morally responsible in not having done more to hinder this murder.

My Defence has spoken about this in detail and I shall not speak about that. I would like only to speak about a few circumstances to throw light on my role here in Hungary. Tito's closest collaborators were imperialist agents. They were almighty in the Party and Tito was entirely in their hands. Kardelj, Djilas, Rankovich, these three were almighty in the Yugoslav Party and liquidated all those people who dared to say a word against their policy. They had two members of the political committee, Žujovich and Hebrang, arrested, and murdered Colonel-General Arso Jovanovich without trial, only because they opposed Tito's policy.

Under such conditions, it is comprehensible that the ordinary Party members did not dare to protest or to pronounce their own opinions ; they preferred to stay quiet and they carried out the tasks they got, although they did not agree with them all. The same happened to me, too, as to thousands of the Yugoslav Party members who carried out the instructions of the Tito gang and thus became enemies of our own people. I became an enemy of that people for whose freedom I had fought four years as a partisan with arms in my hands. I was never an enemy of the Hungarian people and I was a friend of the best sons of the Hungarian people who were, during the war, partisans in Yugoslavia and we fought together against fascism. After the war, however, I carried out the instructions and the tasks given by the Tito gang, I became a conspirator against the Hungarian people's democratic government.

That I am here today on the bench of the accused, is a result of the fact that I allowed them to make me an instrument in the hands of the Tito gang and that I did not break with the Tito gang immediately after the historic resolution of the Information Bureau.

I trust that the Court of the Hungarian People's Republic, passing a sentence on me of a gravity which will be proportionate to my crimes, will take all these circumstances into consideration. I await the sentence I merit.

The President :

Dr. Tibor Szőnyi !

Dr. Tibor Szőnyi : Honoured People's Court. In the course of my statement, I laid open here, before the Hungarian working people, with complete sincerity and quite openly all the great crimes I committed through the conspiracy aimed at the violent overthrow of the Hungarian people's democracy, and my spying activities for the American and Yugoslav intelligence organs. I

told everything that I knew in connection with this affair. I did not spare either myself or my accomplices.

I was able to be sincere as I confessed to my crimes, I recognised my grave responsibility. I was able to reveal everything completely for I not only became separated from my criminal past, but I turned with hatred and contempt against both my hideous crimes and my accomplices, those who commissioned me and whose interests I served, that is, the American imperialists and their satellites, Tito's base gang.

I am standing here before the Hungarian people with sincere repentance and deep shame, in the company of spies, traitors, *provocateurs* and adventurers, to whom I too belonged. I can only speak with a bent head and lowered lids about our villainous and base plans which aimed to destroy the freedom, the happiness, the peace of the Hungarian working people, which aimed to make a gang of base adventurers the leaders of the country, and to drag Hungary down to the degree of an American and Yugoslav colony.

The course of my crimes did not start in the autumn of 1944, when I became an agent of the American secret service. Before that I had already come into contact more than once with *provocateurs* and enemies of the working class within the movement, who made me vacillate and who spread the seeds of a hostile ideology in me. Step by step, I was more and more influenced by Trotskyist circles in 1943 and 1944 in Switzerland, where I became separated from the working class movement for a long time. In 1944 I openly professed views serving the interests of American imperialism. The treacherous theory of Browder played a great part in this. My political treason, like a magnet, drew the agents of the American and Yugoslav secret services around me, the result of whose recruiting and intermediary activities was that I engaged myself, fully aware of my action, to carry out the tasks given to me by the American secret service. As in so many other cases, in my case, too, political treason led straight into the camp of the enemy and the spies.

In the interest of the American imperialist war *provocateurs* and their accomplices, Tito's villainous gang, and according to the instructions they worked out together, I became an accomplice in hideous crimes against the Hungarian people's democracy and peace. I carried out espionage according to the instructions of the American and Yugoslav informers. I carried out destructive activities in the common interest of the American imperialists and Tito's gang. I participated in the activity directed at the overthrow

of the Hungarian people's democracy by armed violence, aiming at the establishment of a bourgeois government and the turning of Hungary to the side of imperialist America and Tito's gang. I had knowledge of the plan, the joint plan of the American and Yugoslav imperialists, according to which they wanted to establish an anti-Soviet base under the name of the Balkan Federation, headed by Tito. My crimes are serious and I do not want to belittle them when I say that the chief criminals are the brains behind them, the architects of the plans, the organisers and the directors who are unfortunately absent from the benches of the accused. These are the American imperialist warmongers and Tito, Rankovich, Kardelj and Djilas who are entirely in agreement with them and play the same tune. The joint plan of the American imperialists and Tito against the freedom and peace of the people was not recently hatched. These plans are the offsprings of that marriage which Tito entered into with the imperialists even in 1944.

During my examination I testified in detail about facts that I found out myself, according to which the closest co-operation between the American secret service and the Yugoslav secret service existed even in 1944. Together they worked to infiltrate Yugoslav and American spies into the countries in Eastern Europe. I repeat: in the case of the transference of the Hungarian espionage group into Hungary the co-operation of the two secret organisations was so close that it was difficult to define where the American secret service ended and where the Yugoslav began.

But Tito was not satisfied with subjecting his own people and country to the American imperialists. On the directions of the American instigators, he accepted the directing role in the conspiracy aimed at overthrowing the peoples' democracies, and the organisation of provocations against the Hungarian people's democracy. This conspiracy, the Rajk conspiracy, from the first moment was directed jointly by the Americans and the Yugoslavs, and Tito and Rankovich were responsible for the immediate direction.

Tito, Rankovich, Kardelj and Djilas conceal their roles as American agents from the Yugoslav people by an ideology of their own fabrication dressed in the Yugoslav national colours, that is, that they can achieve socialism in a special way. But in discussions conducted with us and their accomplices, they discarded this mask, then they openly spoke about the overthrow of the people's democratic government order, and to achieve this aim they did not shrink from committing any kind of monstrous deed. The Titoites

were ready for armed intervention in Hungary, for base acts of terror against Hungarian statesmen, and for bloody armed frontier provocations.

Honoured People's Court! I too served these evil plans. My own crime is not less when compared to the monstrous deeds of the main criminals, the American warmongers and Tito's villainous gang. The seriousness of my responsibility is reflected by that very comparison. Just before my arrest I was in doubt a number of times. I condemned the plans but did not have enough courage to oppose them openly and to expose them. I recognise my guilt in all respects. I ask the honoured People's Court when determining my punishment to take into consideration that I have regretted my acts, that I have tried to assist in disclosing everything connected with this matter, have told everything frankly and have turned my back on my guilty past.

The President :

András Szalai!

Szalai : Honoured People's Court! In my last plea I want to emphasise, and I want to state before the People's Court, that I have frankly told of everything I have committed against the Hungarian Republic and the Hungarian people. I feel that a straight road leads from the treachery which I committed against the working class movement in the past, to my co-operation with Tito's treacherous clique. This is how I became an accomplice to those spies and murderers, to those traitors who, hiding behind the diplomatic mask, carried out their harmful activities for many years in Hungary against the Hungarian People's Republic. I have frankly laid bare my crimes before the People's Court. I await the heavy sentence of the People's Court. Yet I ask the People's Court to spare my life.

The President :

Milan Ognjenovich!

Ognjenovich : Honoured People's Court! In my last plea I would like again to acknowledge my crimes committed against the Hungarian government. I ask the honoured People's Court, when arriving at the sentence, to take into consideration that the Tito gang exploited my financial situation and recruited me to their ranks. I regret, I have honestly regretted my crimes and ask the honoured People's Court to spare my life and to give me another chance to return to a decent life.

The President :

Béla Korondy!

Korondy : Mr. President! Honoured People's Court! I, as an active participant in the anti-government conspiracy, again admit my absolute guilt. László Rajk, convinced that I was his follower and supporter, drew me into the conspiracy in March, 1948. He instructed me to organise a special detachment of reliable persons whose duty it would be to arrest the members of the Government, and to physically annihilate Ministers Rákosi, Farkas and Gerő. In addition to the assignment from Rajk, Pálffy received orders that it would be my task to take over command of the armed police forces, with these to seize and occupy the more important objectives in Budapest and in this way to promote the success of the conspiracy.

This was my role in the conspiracy, whose leaders were László Rajk and György Pálffy who are now sitting on the benches of the accused.

I admit having committed all the crimes and ask the People's Court to take this into consideration when bringing judgment.

The President :

Pál Justus!

Pál Justus : In my last plea I do not want to apologise and do not want to try to reduce the seriousness of what I have committed. I have admitted, and admit now, that I have committed the crimes of which I am accused. I would like to use the opportunity of explaining how I got into the camp of the enemies of the working people.

If I look back on my career, I see one common cause for all the crimes which I committed, and that is my Trotskyite convictions. Through Trotskyite literature, with the enemies of the communist movement, through contact with international Trotskyite leaders and through their influence, I myself became a sworn enemy of the communist movement. My close on twenty years of political activity are filled with the poison of Trotskyism. Already in the 'thirties I allied myself with various groups and factions which fought against the communist movement then in illegality.

Through this fact I became a helper of the police even at a time when I was not yet an organised agent, though shortly after, this too happened, and that was in itself the gravest crime against the Hungarian people.

I did not discontinue my Trotskyite activities even when Hitler started his predatory war against the Soviet Union, although

at that time, during the years of war, this Trotskyite activity was identical with actual help for Hitlerism.

After the Liberation I would have had the possibility radically to break with my past and start a new life. I did not possess enough strength and courage for this. However, the decisive factor in not doing this was again that I adhered to my Trotskyite ideas. In consequence of these ideas, I very soon became engaged in anti-democratic plans. Even after the Liberation I continued the illegal rearing of Trotskyite cadres, I strived to place these cadres into important posts of cultural and political life. During my journeys abroad I slandered the Hungarian people's democracy and its leaders.

I feel guilty of subversive activities aimed against the Hungarian people's democracy. I feel guilty of espionage committed for the French secret service.

However, I committed the gravest crime in that on the instructions of the Yugoslav secret service and of the Yugoslav Minister of Home Affairs Rankovich in person, I perpetrated subversive activities and espionage against the Hungarian people's democracy. The fact in itself, that Rankovich's agent on the occasion of my organisation into the Yugoslav service made use of the compromising data concerning my services for the Horthy police, this fact in itself is — in my opinion — characteristic of the methods of Tito, Rankovich and company. But I have to admit that even in that case, Trotskyite ideas were those which made me suitable to play this role. On Rankovich's directives, my role was to unite the Trotskyites and other anti-democratic elements and, at the right time, to place them at the disposal of László Rajk, that is to say, the conspiratorial organisation of Rajk, for the purpose of the overthrow of the Hungarian people's democracy.

I can say that it was not from newspaper articles, but by personal experience, from my personal contact with Rankovich's special agents, that I learnt to know the chief characteristics of the Tito clique. From the contact with these agents I learnt to know their chauvinism kindled to white-heat, their haughtiness, hatred and their fight against the Hungarian People's Republic, the other peoples' democracies and the Soviet Union. I know by personal experience that in this fight they willingly serve American imperialism and that American imperialism is assisting them. It is also a personal experience of mine that they indiscriminately exploit everybody, every enemy of the people and make use of any means against the peoples' democracies, from slander to unlimited, unbridled terror.

This is in essence what I wanted to repeat in my last plea, wishing to add that I sincerely repent and already frankly revealed in the course of the investigation whatever I did, whatever I know of this whole complex of problems.

I am fully aware that I cannot expect you to believe in my sincerity, I know that I cannot make good with words what I committed in deeds. Therefore, my last plea is to be given the possibility of repairing by any useful work performed for the benefit of the Hungarian working people, at least in part, whatever I inflicted upon them.

The President : Mr. Prosecutor, do you wish to say anything?

The People's Prosecutor : I have nothing to say.

The President of the Court, Dr. Péter Jankó, then announces that sentence will be pronounced on Saturday, September 24, at 9 a. m.

THE VERDICT

The Special Council of the People's Court passed sentence on Saturday, September 24, 1949, in the case of László Rajk and his accomplices. The members of the Special Council entered the courtroom lead by the President of the Council Dr. Péter Jankó, at 9.45 a. m.

The President : I shall now announce the verdict passed by the Special Council of the People's Court, in the case of László Rajk and his accomplices.

In the name of the Hungarian People's Republic!

In the case of László Rajk and his accomplices heard on the 16th, 17th, 19th, 20th, 21st and 22nd day of September, 1949, the Special Council of the Budapest People's Court, formed in accordance with Article 11 of Act VII. 1946, has passed the following

S E N T E N C E :

Whereas, the Special Council of the People's Court has found the accused László Rajk (according to his birth certificate : László Rájk), 40 years of age, born in Székelyudvarhely, a resident of Budapest, a Hungarian citizen, a schoolmaster, former Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, married, according to his own statement without means, who has since May 30, 1949, been in police custody, or under preliminary arrest, guilty of

a crime against the people, once and continuously committed as defined in section 5 of Article 15 of the order on People's Courts ;

the crime, once and continuously committed, defined in section 2 of Article 60, Act III. 1930, and punishable under section 3, Article 61 ; and

the crime defined in section 1, Article 1 of Act VII. 1946 ;

the accused Lazar Brankov, 37 years of age, born in Stari Bečej, a resident of Budapest, a Yugoslav citizen, formerly a Counsellor of the Yugoslav Legation, single, according to his own statement without means, who has since July 19, 1949, been in police custody, or under preliminary arrest, guilty of

the crime, once and continuously committed, defined in sections 1 and 3, Article 60 of Act III. 1930, punishable under section 3, Article 61 ; and

the crime defined in section 1, Article 1 of Act VII. 1946, and, within the meaning of section 2 of Article 69 of the Criminal Code, as accessory to the crime of murder defined in Article 278 of the Criminal Code ;

the accused *Dr. Tibor Szőnyi* (prior to 1945 Tibor Hoffmann) 45 years of age, born in Budapest and a resident of Budapest, a Hungarian citizen, a physician, married, according to his statement without means, who has since May 18, 1949, been in police custody, or under preliminary arrest, guilty of

the crime, once and continuously committed, defined in section 3 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930 ; and within the meaning of section 3 of Article 61 ; and

the crime, defined in section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946 ;

the accused *András Szalai* (prior to 1945 Ervin Ländler) 32 years of age, born in Pécs and a resident of Budapest, a Hungarian citizen, an official, married, according to his statement without means, who has since May 18, 1949, been in police custody, or under preliminary arrest, guilty of

a crime against the people, once and continuously committed, defined in section 5 of Article 15 of the Order on People's Courts

the crime, once and continuously committed, defined in section 3 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930 ; and punishable under section 3 of Article 61 ; and

the crime defined in section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946 ;

the accused *Milan Ognjenovich*, 33 years of age, born in Sároka and a resident of Budapest, a Hungarian citizen, an official, married, according to his statement without means, who has since July 5, 1949, been in police custody, or under preliminary arrest, guilty of

the crime, defined in section 3 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930 ; and punishable under section 1 of Article 61 ;

the accused *Pál Justus*, 44 years of age, born in Pécs and a resident of Budapest, a Hungarian citizen, former vice-chairman of the Central News Agency, married, according to his statement without means, who has since June 18, 1949, been in police custody, or under preliminary arrest, guilty of

a crime against the people, once and continuously committed, defined in section 5 of Article 15 of the Order on People's Courts ;

the crime, once and continuously committed, defined in section 3 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930 ; and punishable under section 3 of Article 61 ; and

the crime, defined in section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946.

Therefore, the Special Council of the People's Court has decided, as its main sentences, to sentence :

The accused *László Rajk*, on the basis of Article 11 of the Order on People's Courts, of section 3 of Article 61 of Act III. 1930, of section 1 of Article 10 of Act VII. 1946, of Article 96 of the Penal Code and applying Article 90 of the Penal Code, to death, as full sentence, —

The accused *Lazar Brankov*, on the basis of section 3 of Article 61 of Act III. 1930, of section 1 of Article 10 of Act VII. 1946, of Articles 278, 72, 66 and 96 of the Penal Code and applying Article 91 of the Penal Code, to imprisonment for life, as full sentence, —

The accused *Dr. Tibor Szőnyi*, on the basis of section 3 of Article 61 of Act III. 1930, of section 1 of Article 10 of Act VII. 1946 and Article 96 of the Penal Code and applying Article 90 of the Penal Code, to death, as full sentence, —

The accused *András Szalai*, on the basis of Article 11 of the Order on People's Courts, of section 3 of Article 61 of Act III. 1930, of section 1 of Article 10 of Act VII. 1946 and Article 96 of the Penal Code and applying Article 90 of the Penal Code, to death, as full sentence, —

The accused *Milan Ognjenovich*, on the basis of section 1 of Article 61 of Act III. 1930 and applying Article 92 of the Penal Code, to 9 (nine) years' imprisonment, —

The accused *Pál Justus*, on the basis of Article 11 of the Order on People's Courts, of section 3 of Article 61 of Act III. 1930, of section 1 of Article 10 of Act VII. 1946 and Article 96 of the Penal Code, and applying Article 91 of the Penal Code, to imprisonment for life, as full sentence, —

And in addition, the following secondary sentences :

The accused *László Rajk*, *András Szalai* and *Pál Justus*, on the basis of Article 1 of the Order on People's Courts, of Article 70 of Act III. 1930 and of section 5 of Article 10 of Act VII. 1946, the accused *Lazar Brankov*, on the basis of Article 70 of Act III. 1930, of section 5 of Article 10 of Act VII. 1946 and Article 289 of the Penal Code, the accused *Dr. Tibor Szőnyi*, on the basis of Article 70 of Act III. 1930 and section 5 of Article 10 of Act VII. 1946, and the accused *Milan Ognjenovich*, on the basis of Article 70 of Act III. 1930 ; to be suspended for 10 years from the practice of their political rights, to be suspended from the practice of their offices for the same period, and to have their entire available property confiscated.

The Special Council considers two months and two days of the punishment of *Lazar Brankov*, two months and sixteen days of the punishment of *Milan Ognjenovich*, three months and two days of the punishment of *Pál Justus*, to have been served under police arrest, and under remand in prison according to Article 94 of the Penal Code and section 2 of Article 2 of Order II. on the People's Courts.

The Special Court states that it is not competent to hear the charge against the accused *György Pálffy* and *Béla Korondy*, and therefore separates their case, and directs it to the competent military court. (Bp. 263. §. Tc. 111. §.)

The accused *László Rajk*, *Lazar Brankov*, *Dr. Tibor Szőnyi*, *András Szalai*, *Milan Ognjenovich* and *Pál Justus*, are ordered to pay to the State Treasury the costs in their entirety which have arisen up to now.

The Special Court orders that after the sentence has become absolute, it be delivered to the authorities, as defined in Article 52 of the Order on People's Courts, to the Hungarian Minister of Home Affairs, to the Hungarian Minister of Defence, to the Hungarian Minister of Trade, and, without regard to its legal force, to the Budapest Directorate of Finance.

APPENDICES

**LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE PEOPLE'S
COURT, THE PROSECUTOR AND MEMBERS
OF THE DEFENCE**

President of the Court :

Dr. Péter Jankó, Judge of the Supreme Court, President of the
Budapest People's Court.

People's Judges :

Sándor Bares journalist,
József Czéh working peasant,
Mrs. Gyula Konta factory worker,
Lajos Simon leather worker,

People's Prosecutor :

Dr. Gyula Alapi, President of the Budapest State Prosecutor's
Office.

The Counsels for Defence :

Dr. Elek Kaszó, for László Rajk .
Dr. István Kovács, for György Pálffy
Dr. László Névay, for Lazar Brankov
Dr. György Csanády, for Dr. Tibor Szőnyi
Dr. János Somfai, for András Szalai
Dr. Emil Zarubai, for Milan Ognjenovich
Dr. Ferenc Alács, for Béla Korondy
Dr. József Nehéz-Posszony, for Pál Justus.

**LAWS AND ORDERS REFERRED TO
IN THE INDICTMENT IN THE CASE OF
LÁSZLÓ RAJK AND HIS ACCOMPLICES**

*I. Organisation or movement aimed at the overthrow of the democratic
state order and the Republic.*

Section 1 of Article 1 of Act VII. 1946.

Whosoever shall commit an act, initiate or lead a movement or organisation, or give substantial financial aid to such movement or organisation aiming at the overthrow of the democratic order of the State and of the Republic established by Act I. of 1946, shall be guilty of a crime and liable to punishment.

II. Sedition (espionage).

1. Section 2 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930.

Whosoever makes public or communicates to an unauthorised person or makes in some other way accessible to an unauthorised person such secrets having come into his possession or to his knowledge as a consequence of his public employment or position of official trust or position arising from service or contract with the authorities, shall be guilty of the crime of sedition and liable to be punished with imprisonment up to five years.

2. Section 3 of Article 60 of Act III. 1930.

Whosoever publishes or communicates to an unauthorised person or otherwise makes accessible to an unauthorised person such secrets having come into his possession or knowledge otherwise than defined in sections 1 and 2, if this act endangers the interests of the State, shall be guilty of the crime of sedition and liable to be punished with imprisonment up to five years.

3. Section 3 of Article 61 of Act III. 1930.

The punishment for sedition as defined in Article 60 is death if the act has been committed for the purpose mentioned and with

the use of a position of civil servant or official assignment, service or contract with the authorities and the act has severely injured or endangered the interests of the State.

III. War crimes and crimes against the people.

1. Section 4 of Article 13 of Order No. 81/1945 M. E. given legal force by Act VII. 1945.

Whosoever being a Hungarian citizen, joined the units of the German army or security service (SS, Gestapo) is also thereby a war criminal.

2. Section 5 of Article 10 of Order No. 1440/1945 M. E. given legal force by Act VII. 1945.

Whosoever acted as an informer, or delivered data, to any official organ, party or social organisation pursuing fascist or anti-democratic aims or the persecution of certain social strata is guilty of a crime against the people.

3. Section 5 of Article 11 of Order No. 81/1945 M. E. (Decree No 1440/1945 M. E. Article 6.) given legal force by Article VII. 1946.

Whosoever infringed the international laws governing the treatment of the population of occupied territories or of prisoners of war, or, abusing the power entrusted to him, committed cruelties against the populations of retrieved territories, or was in general, at home or abroad, the instigator, perpetrator or accessory to the unlawful execution or torture of persons, is also a war criminal.

IV. Instigation to murder.

1. Article 278 of Act V. 1878. the Criminal Code.

He who kills a person by premeditation, commits the crime of murder and is to be punished with the death sentence.

2. Section 1 of Article 69 of Act V. 1878.

He who induces another person (instigator) to commit a crime or infraction of the law, is an accessory to the committed or attempted crime or infraction of the law.

LIST OF FOREIGN PRESS CORRESPONDENTS PRESENT AT THE RAJK TRIAL

Soviet Union

Boris Polevoj, Pravda (Moscow)
Nikolaj Pantuhin, TASS (Moscow)
Pavel Baranikov, TASS (Moscow)
Fjodor Potemkin, Soviet Information Bureau

Czechoslovakia

Mikulas Ezrovic, Pravda (Bratislava)
Vladimir Koucki, Rudé Pravo (Prague)
Jan Trachta, CTK (Prague)

Bulgaria

Eduard Safir, Rabotnichesko Delo (Sofia)
Krum Bosev, BTA (Sofia)
Georgi Pangelof, BTA (Sofia)

Rumania

Samfir Brumaru, Scanteia (Bucharest)
Leon Sarateanu, Romania Libera (Bucharest)
Ion Sloboda, Radio Bucharest

Poland

Roman Jurys', Trybuna Ludu (Warsaw)
Josef Cywiak, Agencja Robotnicza (Warsaw)
Miclav Bibrovski, PAP (Warsaw)
Henryk Werner, Prasa Wojskowa and Agencja Prasowa Informacyjna (API, Warsaw)
Maximillian Vergesslich, PAP (Warsaw)
Henryk Holland, Radio Warsaw

Italy

Ottavio Pastore, Unita (Roma)
Luca Trevisani, Unita (Milano)
Marcello Palumbo, Giornale della Sera (Roma)

Belgium

Anne Vincent, Drapeau Rouge (Bruxelles)

France

Pierre Courtade, l'Humanité (Paris)
François Lescure, l'Humanité (Paris)
Jean Baby, Démocratie Nouvelle (Paris)
Serge Karsky, Le Monde (Paris)
Madeleine Jacob, Libération (Paris)
Georges Heuzé, AFP (Paris)
L. Erdős, France Soir (Paris)

Germany

Frau Julius David, Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst (Berlin)

Austria

Géza Reitmann Kunert, Volkstimme (Vienna)
Theodor Novak, Die Presse (Vienna)

Sweden

Olson Knut, Ny Dag (Stockholm)

Great Britain

Derek Kartun, Daily Worker (London)
Peter Fryer, Daily Worker (London)
Michael Burn, Times (London)
Wilfred Burchett, Daily Express (London)
Peter Furst, Reuter (London)

U. S. A.

Joseph Kingsbury Smith, International News Service (New York)
Richard Clark, United Press (New York)
Stephen White, New York Herald Tribune (Paris)
A. Márton, Associated Press (New York)
George May, NANA (New York)
J. Szatmári, International News Service (New York)
Mary Egger, Overseas News Agency (New York)

Spain

Arroyo Perez, Spanish Republican Press

EXPLANATION OF LOCAL TERMS OCCURRING IN THE TEXT

MÉMOSz (Magyar Építőmunkások Országos Szövetsége) = National Union of Hungarian Building Workers. (P. 36)

Uj-Lipótváros = Former name of a newer section of the fifth district of Budapest. (P. 36)

Weiszhaus Group = An anti-communist faction planted in the labour movement by the Horthy police. (P. 46)

Pócspetri = A small village in North-Eastern Hungary, where, in the spring of 1948, murderers, instigated by clerical reaction, killed a policeman and attempted to incite the population against the democratic regime. (P. 72)

Hungarian Front = The union of anti-fascist Hungarian democratic forces, established during the war in 1944 and led by the Hungarian Communist Party. (P. 147)

MAORT = Hungarian-American Oil Co. (P. 152)

Kőbánya = Tenth district of Budapest. (P. 207)

MÁVAUT = Bus Communications of Hungarian State Railways. (P. 221)

Hungarian Central News Agency (Magyar Központi Híradó) = The Company including the Hungarian Radio and the Hungarian Telegraph Agency (MTI.) (P. 304)

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ERRATA

P. 25. line 20	for Fran ois	read François
P. 39. line 23	for Vukmanovich	read Vukoma- novich
P. 41. line 29	for Vukmanovich	read Vukoma- novich
P. 52. line 4	for Vukmanovich	read Vukoma- novich
P. 59. line 7	for ased	read asked
P. 63. line 14	for spath	read path
P. 66. line 12	for insolated	read isolated
P. 76. line 25	for deployed	read disposed
P. 270. line 11	for show	read shown
P. 274. line 4	for puklish	read publish
P. 275. line 11	for Lieutenant-	read Lieutenant- Colonel
P. 275. line 12	for Colonel	read Lieutenant- Colonel
P. 288. line 20	for fraction	read faction